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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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LES MAÎTRES DE LA LITTÉRATURE FRANÇAISE CONTEMPORAINE

Il peut sembler audacieux d'attribuer des maîtres à nos écrivains contemporains, si épris de liberté, si difficiles à définir et si préoccupés de sauvegarder leur originalité. La littérature française en ce premier quart du XX^e siècle apparaît comme une mer agitée où toutes sortes de courants s'entrecroisent, se heurtent et forment une masse bouillonnante dont l'écume et les vagues rendent bien difficile l'observation des mouvements profonds et durables. L'anarchie est de mode, les jeunes écrivains rougiraient de dire qu'ils ont appris quelque chose ou se sont mis à l'école de quelqu'un. On rédige et publie ses livres maintenant, comme jadis M. Jourdain faisait de la prose, sans le savoir et sans le vouloir. Point d'écoles aux doctrines nettes, à l'activité persévérante et uniforme, des séries de groupes et sous-groupes aux frontières mal délimitées, aux convictions vagues même quand elles sont violentes, prompts à se former et à s'effriter. Chaque écrivain nouveau jaillit comme un météore sorti du ciel et qui ne tardera pas à y retourner, s'il ne s'abîme irrémédiablement sur le sol.

Cette confusion est évidente et indéniable. Si peu que l'on ait fréquenté le quartier latin, Montmartre et Montparnasse on n'a pu manquer de la voir s'étaler et triompher dans tous les cafés, théâtres et ateliers où fréquente la "Jeune génération." Elle a même quelque chose de si voyant, qu'elle suscite des doutes et des soupçons. Ne serait-elle pas quelque peu affectée, artificielle, hypocrite? Tous ces jeunes gens qui se donnent tant de peine pour sembler des isolés et des découvreurs de monde

ne seraient-ils point au contraire liés entre eux et avec leurs prédécesseurs d'une façon étroite, qu'ils n'osent avouer? Cette pensée m'était souvent venue à l'esprit depuis quelques années; elle s'est imposée à moi quand j'eus rencontré l'un de nos poètes les plus précoces et que j'eus constaté à quel point il était obsédé par Rimbaud. Ce jeune homme, disparu trop tôt, au moment où il venait de produire deux œuvres qui le plaçaient parmi les meilleurs romanciers français, était alors dans toute la fièvre de ses premières aventures littéraires, et son grand souci était de les calquer sur celles d'Arthur Rimbaud. Comme lui il buvait, il vagabondait, il était illuminé. Il copiait jusqu'à ses vêtements et à ses cravates, tels que les montrent les photographies du siècle dernier. Il était véritablement possédé. Ses œuvres aussi subissaient cette influence, que l'on n'a point notée d'ordinaire, car il en parlait peu.

Ce cas étrange me fut un indice. Depuis ce jour, en observant les livres qui paraissaient et leurs auteurs, je dus constater que chacun d'entre eux portait ainsi secrètement ou discrètement une image précieuse qui lui servait de modèle, ou parfois de repoussoir. Très peu d'écrivains travaillent absorbés en une pure méditation ou les yeux simplement fixés sur le public auquel ils s'adressent. Entre eux et leurs pensées, entre eux et leurs lecteurs flotte toujours (ou presque) une sorte de mirage. Ainsi Voltaire se voulait considérer comme un nouveau Racine, Eugène Melchior de Vogüé pensait réincarner Chateaubriand, et Radiguet vivait une seconde fois les années de jeunesse de Rimbaud. Dans son siècle Voltaire n'était point le seul que hantât la perfection de Racine, mais un parmi des milliers; de même, Chateaubriand trône comme un despote exigeant au-dessus du 19e siècle où depuis les Marchangy jusqu'aux Flaubert tout le monde songeait à lui.

Ceux qui s'imposent de cette façon impérieuse sont les vrais maîtres de chaque époque littéraire. Leurs attitudes, leurs gestes, leurs manies en même temps que leurs techniques et leurs pensées se retrouvent démarquées chez leurs successeurs, qui vivent d'eux et, d'ordinaire, n'aiment point à le montrer. Notre temps n'échappe pas à ces coutumes. Malgré le chaos apparent écrivains et publics ont été hypnotisés par quelques

grands magiciens qui choisissent pour eux leurs tendances, les font écrire, les font lire. Il peut être plus difficile de nos jours, grâce aux progrès accomplis dans tous les arts et en particulier dans celui de la dissimulation, de découvrir quels sont les véritables "maîtres" de notre littérature, mais avec quelque patience et quelque délicatesse, on y doit réussir.

Une difficulté dès l'abord se présente: à quoi peut-on reconnaître ces auteurs dont l'autorité s'étend si loin et dont l'influence est si subtile? Y a-t-il une méthode scientifique (le mot est l'équivalent d'infailible dans le langage moderne) pour les découvrir? On peut songer d'abord à un critérium fort simple et qu'il est de mode actuellement d'adopter: le nombre d'éditions, la quantité de volumes répandus sur le marché national ou mondial. Ne serait-on pas ainsi renseigné sur l'étendue, le "calibre" pourrait-on dire, de leur influence? Un auteur peut-il agir sur ses contemporains ou les générations suivantes, s'il n'est point lu par eux? Ne doit-on point éliminer tout écrivain qui n'a pas atteint une certaine vente, pour ne tenir compte que de ceux dont l'œuvre a été un succès d'édition?

On serait tenté de se laisser persuader par ces raisonnements, et les autres théories des nombreux esprits distingués, qui ont confiance dans les méthodes scientifiques appliquées aux lettres, si l'expérience quotidienne ne prouvait l'inexactitude de ces considérations. Tel romancier, dont les ouvrages ont passé presque inaperçus, et se sont mal vendus par la suite, peut exercer une attraction très profonde sur les générations suivantes et prendre une place que les auteurs à succès de son temps n'auront jamais. Le cas de Stendhal est typique. Un livre peut se vendre à des centaines de milliers d'exemplaires et ne jamais acquérir une vaste influence littéraire, comme les *Misérables* de Victor Hugo. La diffusion d'un livre est un fait et non une démonstration; tout dépend de la façon dont on l'interprète.

Pour y voir clair dans cette question et trouver le fil conducteur, il faut tout d'abord se faire une idée nette du public qui lit les livres en France. On ne doit point se le représenter comme une foule homogène, mais comme formé de toutes sortes de catégories d'hommes qui abordent les ouvrages avec des

préoccupations et des soucis particuliers. Le professeur, l'étudiant, l'érudit, le collectionneur, l'amoureux, la jolie femme ont chacun leurs exigences et nul livre ne saurait plaire à tous. Pourtant, si l'on veut simplifier, et il le faut bien ici, on peut réduire à deux grandes classes, ces diverses familles de lecteurs. Les uns, esprits formés, ayant déjà fait parmi les idées et les sentiments le choix de ce qui leur convient et de ce qu'ils rejettent, se livrent à la lecture comme à une occupation agréable et utile, qui sans les troubler ou les gêner leur donnera pour leur vie intellectuelle, sentimentale ou professionnelle de nouveaux aliments, de nouvelles ressources; les autres, encore dans la période d'accroissement et d'organisation cherchent dans les livres un stimulant, une impulsion et un moyen de se trouver eux-mêmes. Les premiers constituent la grande masse des lecteurs, gens de plus de 30 ans, cultivés et installés dans la vie, capables d'acheter les livres et de prendre plaisir à avoir leurs bibliothèques, doués de goûts intellectuels et parfois d'un grand raffinement, ou même d'érudition. Les autres moins nombreux, sont en général plus jeunes, ils achètent donc moins de livres, mais ils les lisent avec plus de passion et sont plus accessibles à leur influence. Chez les uns la lecture est un passe-temps, chez les autres elle est ce "vice impuni," dont parlait récemment Valéry Larbaud, cette hallucination mêlée d'excitations vagues, de désirs précis et d'une grande ambition. Chaque époque a connu ce conflit entre les classes installées dans la vie et les "jeunes"; c'est Malherbe bousculant grossièrement Ronsard, Desportes et son école; Racine et Boileau faisant la nique au grand Corneille, qui s'indigne en vain; les romantiques de 1830 à l'assaut des "vieilles barbes" de l'empire. On le voit, ces deux publics sont non seulement distincts, ils s'opposent en général l'un à l'autre et patronnent des maîtres différents.

Le public rangé et établi a pour lui la masse et la sagesse, mais l'autre a la flamme, la nervosité et la jeunesse. Cette lutte est plus égale qu'on ne le croirait d'abord, et même à dix contre un les "jeunes," aidés d'un dieu bien puissant "le Temps," triomphent d'ordinaire. Ils n'ont pas toujours raison du reste et à leur tour ils passent devant le tribunal des générations qui leur succèdent. On ne saurait comprendre la situation de la

littérature dans la France contemporaine, si l'on n'a discerné les caractéristiques et les frontières de ces deux publics. C'est aux premiers, aux hommes d'âge, de conviction et de goût fixé qu'appartient évidemment la prérogative de procurer les gros tirages et les brillants succès financiers. Les jeunes gens peuvent faire quelque bruit autour d'un livre mais non pas payer pour lui, ni aider très puissamment à sa diffusion dans les masses. Le livre qui se vend le mieux dans la France contemporaine est celui qui a été rédigé à l'intention des hommes âgés de 35 à 55 ans.

II

J'ai examiné il y a quelque temps une liste des écrivains favorisés de la fortune; elle confirmait avec éclat cette assertion, on y voyait en bonne place Farrère, Bordeaux, Bazin, Prévost, pour ne citer que quelques vivants. Au reste elle était assez longue et assez stable. Un romancier qui a conquis un public le garde pendant quelques années à moins qu'il ne change complètement sa manière, son point de vue et ses idées politiques, ce qui peut mettre en danger les situations les plus solides. Une certaine immobilité est requise des auteurs bien vus. Leur situation est sûre, à condition qu'ils ne déconcertent pas leur public par de brusques volte-face ou des innovations soudaines. Grâce à ces concessions, fort bénignes en somme, surtout pour des hommes qui vieillissent, ils gardent sur leur monde un empire qui n'est pas négligeable et dont on ne mesure pas assez l'importance. Scribe et Georges Ohnet ont eu un rôle social considérable. On pourrait en dire autant de Conan Doyle et de l'auteur de *Fantomas*. Mais quelques exemples nous permettront de préciser l'étendue et l'intensité de leur action.

Le plus illustre de ces écrivains à grands tirages est assurément Anatole France qui vient de mourir entouré d'une gloire nationale et presque d'un culte, puisqu'autour de son cercueil se pressaient les représentants du Gouvernement, de tous les partis politiques, depuis les monarchistes jusqu'aux communistes, et de toutes les générations, car sa gloire déjà fleurissante il y a trente ans, est encore en pleine vigueur. Anatole France est assurément l'écrivain français qui se vend le mieux dans son pays comme à l'étranger. Lauréat du prix Nobel, membre de

l'Académie française il avait accumulé sur sa tête tous les honneurs auxquels on peut aspirer. Dans beaucoup de pays on le considérait comme le Français typique, ou du moins comme doué de toutes les meilleures qualités typiques du Français. Son influence était incontestable; autour de lui se pressait jusqu'à ses derniers jours une véritable cour; ses mots étaient religieusement recueillis et pieusement déformés en mille légendes que l'on publiait à des centaines de milliers d'exemplaires; on a vu ces productions hagiographiques se multiplier depuis sa mort, mais elles avaient commencé de son vivant. Le Gouvernement avait besoin de lui, il était une force pour un parti politique, et son scepticisme avait imprégné les conversations des salons et des rues.

Toutefois ce succès gigantesque avait trouvé ses limites en France du moins. Si le "gros public" était tout entier pour lui, le "petit public" depuis trois ou quatre ans commençait à se détacher de lui. C'était un spectacle curieux que de voir ce grand homme, au faite de sa popularité et de sa puissance, assailli par ceux-là même auquel son fin talent aurait dû plaire surtout. On a pensé et dit qu'il ne s'agissait là que de jalousie, mais cette hypothèse est fausse. L'impopularité restreinte qui touchait France était naturelle et résultait de causes qu'il est aisé d'analyser.

Depuis 1897 A. France a trouvé sa forme et ne l'a plus modifiée. C'est une langue fine, exacte, soigneuse, souvent harmonieuse, toute pétrie d'expressions et de tournures du XVIII^e siècle. Elle se rapproche beaucoup de celle de Voltaire, dont elle n'a point en général la verdeur et la nouveauté. C'est une langue "d'anthologie." Elle a mille charmes, mais surtout elle rappelle d'autres beautés d'un autre âge. Elle plaisait donc sans restrictions au vaste public cultivé de France, satisfait et amusé d'y retrouver des éléments et des gentillesques qu'il aimait et qui lui étaient familières. Elle plaisait à l'étranger où le XVIII^e siècle français a été beaucoup étudié et bien compris. Mais elle manquait d'attrait pour des esprits détachés de la tradition du siècle philosophe et désireux avant tout de créer, de découvrir et de se faire une place bien à eux, dans un monde neuf. Elle leur donnait l'impression d'une ritournelle. Aussi

doit-on reconnaître qu'elle n'a guère impressionné les écrivains contemporains. Au point de vue strictement littéraire le *Candide* de Voltaire est plus vivant et plus imité de nos jours que la *Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque* ou *Monsieur Bergeret*.

De même si la pensée de France, au point de vue politique, religieux et social, a exercé beaucoup d'empire dans notre pays elle n'a pas joué, je crois, un rôle bien important en littérature. Son scepticisme épicurien et anti-religieux est une arme de combat remarquable. Ce n'est point un instrument créateur. Des hommes qui ont fait leur vie et qui sont en état de jouir des biens terrestres peuvent le pratiquer. Des jeunes gens au début de leur carrière doivent le trouver insultant ou sot. Quand même ils sont d'accord avec lui sur le fond, ils ne partent point sur ce ton-là.

Anatole France était très bien adapté à la plus large portion du public français, curieux de sentir et de penser agréablement, finement, hardiment, mais sans être jamais bousculé ou énervé. Il lui a procuré des joies immenses et en a été payé de retour. Mais puisqu'il plaisait tant à ce genre de lecteurs il lui était impossible de rallier les autres qui voyaient en son style de l'afféterie et du pastiche, dans sa pensée du ratiocianage et dans sa sensibilité une volupté soigneuse et sénile. Les siècles seuls pourront décider qui avait raison, s'ils prennent la peine de décider quelque chose.

Un autre auteur, très populaire et très écouté, se trouve dans une situation analogue à celle d'Anatole France. Paul Bourget garde une position enviable, il est sûr de vendre ses livres et de toujours trouver un auditoire. Mais les jeunes, et même ceux qui partagent ses opinions, se détachent de lui. Chacun assurément rend hommage à son caractère et à son intelligence qui est très grande. M. Bourget est personnellement aimé de tous ceux qui l'ont approché. En un mot, pour un observateur négligent ou pressé il reste le grand écrivain qu'il était avant la guerre. Pourtant il a perdu son prestige. En 1910 et même peut-être en 1914 Bourget écrivait encore pour les deux genres de lecteurs dont nous avons parlé. Maintenant il n'écrit plus que pour ses fidèles clients. Avant la guerre il était une force qui travaillait même en l'esprit de ceux qui ne l'aimaient point.

En 1926 son livre n'est plus acheté que par ses amis politiques. Son rayonnement semble arrêté.

Son œuvre, intéressante et forte, était toute entière conçue et exécutée en fonction d'un problème: le rôle de la science est son domaine légitime. Au moment des débuts de Bourget le naturalisme en plein essor faisait croire que l'on allait vers une civilisation à base scientifique et rationaliste. Les progrès matériels, chemins de fer, bateaux, etc., impressionnaient les foules et tout parlait de progrès. Soucieux de trouver les limites de ces idées et de les concilier avec les notions d'art, de religion, de tradition il écrivit ces remarquables *Essais de Psychologie* et les premiers romans (*Le Disciple*, en particulier), par lequel il fit connaître son nom, jusqu'alors ignoré. Sa réussite éclatante, son entrée à l'Académie, et le rôle prépondérant qu'il y joua, tout contribuait à faire penser qu'il resterait jusqu'à la fin de sa vie un des oracles de la littérature française et que son action se prolongerait bien longtemps après sa mort.

Mais si l'attitude de Bourget intéresse encore les gens qui ont parcouru la moitié de leur vie, elle a cessé de passionner les jeunes gens pour qui ces problèmes sociaux et intellectuels ont pris un aspect différent. La guerre et la misère qui en a résulté ont beaucoup plus fait contre la science que tous les arguments de M. Bourget. Les tendances qu'il attaquait se sont profondément transformées et les coups qu'il voulait leur donner ne portent plus. Il a eu la malechance que le moment de la vie sociale auquel il était adapté et sur lequel sa pensée travaillait, eût une très courte durée. Au reste toute littérature préoccupée des questions sociales a toujours chance dans notre pays de plaire plus aux aînés qu'aux cadets. Le sens social s'éveille tard en France et le jeune homme de 15 à 30 ans absorbé par les violentes crises intellectuelles et sentimentales qu'il traverse, se soucie beaucoup moins du voisin que de lui-même. Il désire qu'un livre lui donne l'occasion d'engager un dialogue avec l'auteur, non d'écouter un discours à la cantonnade. Bourget a beaucoup souffert de cette disposition naturelle à notre pays.

Il n'eût pourtant pas été perdu si sa prose avait contenu assez d'éléments artistiques pour faire appel à cette soif de sentir

qu'éprouvent en France presque tous les jeunes gens, doués ou non pour l'art. Mais sa langue et son vocabulaire l'ont trahi. Il se servait sans hésitation du jargon à la mode entre 1890 et 1900, il ne se rendait point compte de la laideur, ni de la fragilité de ce langage. Telle est pourtant la cause qui va rendre ses romans illisibles. Absorbé par l'idée de science, lui qui avait une fine sensibilité et des conceptions fort justes, a négligé le vêtement qu'il donnait à sa pensée. Celle-ci a pris une forme de plus en plus terne ou même déplaisante. Il serait aisé de composer un dictionnaire des horreurs que contiennent ses meilleurs romans. Son influence et son prestige littéraires en souffrent. On peut prévoir le moment où les expressions impropres, prétentieuses, maladroitement ou abstraites achèveront de former une sorte de langue où la pensée de Bourget, isolée de tout contact avec les autres esprits, restera prisonnière.

Ces deux exemples, choisis parmi les intelligences les plus puissantes de la France contemporaine, permettent de saisir les tendances différentes et opposées des deux sortes de public français. On peut dire d'une façon presque rigoureuse qu'il est impossible de nos jours de rallier l'universalité des esprits comme fit Voltaire au XVIII^e siècle. Toute grande gloire populaire se heurtera fatalement à ce groupe des jeunes écrivains ou des amateurs éclairés. Les auteurs ont un choix à faire. Il faut savoir s'y résoudre. Jadis et jusqu'en 1914 le dilemme ne se posait pas sous cette forme aiguë, mais la guerre en détruisant les générations intermédiaires et en rendant bien plus rares les contacts entre les cadets et leurs aînés a creusé un fossé profond. Il est difficile de dire combien cette situation durera. Elle devrait graduellement disparaître sous l'influence de la paix et de conditions plus normales. Mais d'autres raisons (crises sociales ou politiques, crises économiques, etc.) peuvent contribuer à la maintenir. Au reste, elle remonte plus haut que ces dernières années. Les écrivains de la fin du XIX^e siècle et ceux du début du XX^e avaient déjà élu des "maîtres secrets," des morts pour la plupart, à qui ils procurèrent une carrière posthume éclatante.

III

Les deux plus illustres ont été Stendhal pour la prose et Rimbaud pour la poésie. L'un et l'autre, de leur vivant, furent

des solitaires, et n'avaient guère joui des succès littéraires. Stendhal avait pourtant mis une grande patience à vouloir attirer l'attention de son siècle distrait. Il répétait à ses contemporains que les gens de 1880 auraient pour lui une vive admiration. Il avait raison, mais on n'y prenait pas garde et ses romans se succédaient peu lus, médiocrement aimés. Après sa mort seulement commença le travail de réhabilitation, qui fut lent et dont les résultats les plus brillants et les plus solides ne furent acquis qu'après 1890. On avait commencé à l'aimer pour toute la vie intérieure, toute la volupté si chaude et si élégante, que recélaient ses œuvres, dont le charme n'avait point été sali par des admirations bêtes et gênantes. On se groupait autour de lui comme en une église militante. J'ai connu jadis le vieux Paupe, un bon et modeste comptable, fort pauvre, qui à ses moments perdus adorait Stendhal, réunissant ses lettres éparses, les publiant et groupant toutes sortes de petites reliques. En train de devenir aveugle, et n'y voyant déjà presque plus, il continuait à peiner sur les manuscrits de son "maître." Il avait même fondé avec quelques autres fervents un Stendhal Club qui tint séance quelques fois. Stendhal fut le grand instrument de bataille qui ruina l'œuvre des naturalistes (les pauvres gens pourtant avaient cru pouvoir se servir de lui). C'est grâce à Stendhal que l'on recommença à s'intéresser à la vie intérieure, à la psychologie et à tous les mouvements de l'âme spirituels, sentimentaux, intellectuels, que le réalisme, avec *Madame Bovary*, et le naturalisme de Zola et de Maupassant avaient bannis, les remplaçant par des gestes, des mouvements physiques et des observations de milieu.

Rimbaud fut de même le magicien qui dissipa les nuées du romantisme. Bien peu de gens le comprirent. Bien peu sont sûrs de l'avoir compris tel qu'il était. Mais comme poète il servit, sans conteste possible, à ruiner la poésie de la couleur locale, du "mot-prophète," cette grande rhétorique pittoresque et sonore qui avait fini par constituer le romantisme de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle.

Ainsi ces deux écrivains, dont l'un du moins est à peine lu, et dont l'interprétation, même de nos jours, est loin d'être sûre ou définitive, ont eu un rôle de premier ordre, à cause de

la richesse de leur vie intérieure et du pittoresque de leur personnalité. En effet, Stendhal et Rimbaud ont autant fasciné par leur légende personnelle, leur vie, que par leurs inventions littéraires, leurs écrits.

Ils ont frayé le chemin à tout ce groupe si curieux d'écrivains contemporains dont la grande gloire est d'avoir systématiquement choisi la part la plus âpre, la plus secrète et la plus dure dans le monde littéraire, et d'avoir préféré à une réputation vaste et lucrative une influence en profondeur. Ils trouvent, à vrai dire, quelque compensation dans l'espèce de fanatisme dont ils sont entourés et dans le plaisir que l'on éprouve à reconnaître leur visage, reflété dans les oeuvres des plus jeunes.

La transformation des techniques littéraires en France depuis vingt ans reste inintelligible si l'on ne tient compte de cet élément. En effet les maîtres chéris du gros public influent surtout sur les idées et sentiments politiques, sociaux, religieux qui circulent à travers le pays. Les maîtres vénérés dans les chapelles littéraires et dans le "public artiste" modifient l'attitude psychologique et le métier des "jeunes." Il serait par exemple fort difficile de retrouver dans les livres publiés récemment des images, des locutions, des tournures qui soient inspirées d'Anatole France ou de Bourget, tandis que l'on ne saurait ouvrir un roman écrit par un auteur de moins de vingt-cinq ans sans rencontrer quelques traces de ces jeux d'esprit et d'imagination que Jean Giraudoux et Jean Cocteau ont mis à la mode. Giraudoux, romancier fort charmant, n'a jamais encore pénétré dans les couches profondes du public français; pourtant depuis 1910 il a exercé la plus grande attraction sur les milieux raffinés et curieux. Son *École des Indifférents* doit être comptée comme une date dans l'histoire littéraire française. Giraudoux emploie un style où tout est jeu, images en cascades ou en séries, liées entre elles par des rapports subtils et changeants. Pour montrer Paris vu à 6 heures du matin, il écrira "J'allais par les rues où seuls les laitiers étaient éveillés, où il n'y avait à taquiner que les mamelles de la ville endormie, où tous les appartements qui contiennent des psychologues, des indus riels, des actrices, avaient leurs volets fermés, contenaient des morts." La vie telle qu'on la trouve dans les romans de

Giraudoux, n'est qu'un perpétuel déroulement d'images; mais non point d'images réalistes et objectives, bien plutôt de visions subjectives que seules la sensibilité de l'écrivain et sa fantaisie rassemblent et tiennent réunies. Ce procédé demande une grande adresse, une riche faculté d'invention et une inlassable volubilité. Il a séduit les jeunes. Soupault, décrivant un écrivain au travail dans son dernier roman *En joue*, parle ainsi: "Les oiseaux se taisaient, les femmes criaient en tapant à tour de bras sur du linge et Julien sifflait en cherchant ses mots. Il imitait ses compagnes, les poules. Il picorait un mot, une phrase et gloussait de plaisir . . ." (p. 43). "La nuit. Il reconnaît la nuit. La soeur du silence comme un grand oiseau se gonfle et se moule dans la chambre. Les heures comme des plumes planent avec une désespérante lenteur . . ." (p. 61). Mis en face d'une montagne l'un des plus neufs et des plus sympathiques parmi nos écrivains d'avant-garde René Crevel dit: "Je voudrais que ma destinée fût de couleurs superposées et méritât vraiment d'être prise pour la reine des surprises horizontales. Ainsi mes heures seraient coupées en minutes dont l'ensemble rappellerait celui des tranches géologiques."

"Robe du temps, robe d'espace, que ma vie aille donc du bleu de roi au violet évêque, du violet évêque au rouge cardinal, du rouge cardinal au jaune serin, du jaune serin au vert émeraude, et que, par la grâce des chansons parallèles au moka d'herbe, de pierre de glace, de ciel, elle dérobe la présence de la montagne, et s'affirme à la manière du chaud et du froid" (*Mon corps et moi*). Et l'on rencontrerait des passages analogues en nombre infini chez Pierre Girard, chez Joseph Delteil, chez Paul Morand, etc. Cette langue imagée, tissée d'images, brodée d'images, brochée d'images et enrubannée d'images semble s'imposer à toute une génération de romanciers. Elle connaît une fortune que n'eut jamais le "style artiste" des Goncourt. La popularité des derniers livres de Morand prouverait même que le public est en train de s'y habituer et d'y prendre goût.

On ne peut arriver à la comprendre et à l'employer sans une certaine accoutumance, sans une gymnastique et une sorte de discipline de l'esprit. Si elle n'est point à proprement parler une philosophie consciente de ses moyens et de son but, elle

apparaît comme une façon de percevoir le monde, ou de l'éviter. Elle utilise l'image non plus seulement comme un moyen de voir, mais comme un moyen de vivre. Et c'est, en réalité, toute une formation morale que ces "maîtres cachés," dont nous parlons, donnent à leurs disciples volontaires ou inconscients. On n'en saurait douter quand on étudie le prestige et l'influence de deux parmi les plus grands: Marcel Proust et Paul Valéry.

Proust était d'abord un mondain enfermé dans un cercle étroit; on le regardait travailler avec scepticisme, presque avec mépris. Il ne pouvait réussir à se faire prendre au sérieux. Il dut éditer son premier grand livre à ses frais, chez Grasset. Mais cet ouvrage, *Du côté de chez Swann*, fut une révélation, et en deux ans, Proust devint le plus adoré, le plus entouré des oracles. Depuis ce temps il a conservé son prestige et sa curieuse gloire s'est étendue. Ses livres ne se vendent beaucoup. Les chiffres de tirage restent modérés, mais chaque fois que l'on parle de lui, la foule accourt. Le numéro spécial que la *Nouvelle Revue Française* fit en son honneur fut épuisé en quelques semaines. Le livre de Léon Pierre Quint (fort intéressant du reste), *Marcel Proust*, a suffi à créer une réputation à ce jeune critique, et à lui procurer une situation.

L'énorme ouvrage de Proust *A la recherche du temps perdu* risquerait d'être mal compris si l'on y voyait seulement un roman. On a tort, à mon avis, d'y chercher une peinture des mœurs de notre temps et de le regarder comme une vaste fresque analogue à la *Comédie humaine* de Balzac. Même si Proust eût ces ambitions, son désir le plus sincère, le plus essentiel fut de découvrir une méthode de culture intérieure. Tel est le sens du titre de sa grande œuvre, auquel on fait trop peu attention; et cette interprétation sera imposée par le dernier volume de cette épopée mondaine; effort gigantesque pour étreindre, comprendre, prolonger et multiplier la vie. Ces innombrables volumes sont, en réalité, la méditation d'un poète et d'un philosophe qui veut retenir en soi-même et condenser sous une forme artistique les éléments du réel en train de glisser entre ses mains et de lui échapper. L'aspect véritablement dramatique et génial de l'œuvre de Proust est celui-là: cette réaction d'un homme armé de toute la force, de toute la subtilité, de toute

l'acuité dont dispose le cerveau humain, pour lutter contre l'écoulement des heures en lui, et leur flot qui le fait dériver. C'est grâce à cette méthode qu'il a pris une place si grande dans l'admiration des jeunes. C'est elle que l'on peut retrouver un peu partout en ce moment adaptée aux tempéraments et aux désirs, mais toujours reconnaissable. Comme elle réclame beaucoup de travail, de patience et de délicatesse, il est rare qu'elle soit imitée d'une façon complète et qu'on la retrouve sous une forme très distincte, mais elle exerce son influence, diffuse ou précise, sur presque tous les écrivains français contemporains.

Il en va de même de Paul Valéry, dont la récente élection à l'Académie française a pris des airs de triomphe, et a pu apparaître comme la reconnaissance officielle des tendances les plus hardies de la jeune littérature. Valéry est lui aussi un écrivain mystérieux et retiré. Sauf un livre de vers et deux volumes d'essais tout ce qu'il a publié a été édité à tirage limité et en quelque sorte clandestinement. On annonce encore en ce moment la réédition d'un de ses ouvrages dont chaque exemplaire se vendra plus de mille francs. Nul, semble-t-il, n'a jamais eu moins de souci d'être connu d'un large public. Cependant il possède des partisans enthousiastes même parmi les gens d'âge et d'importance. M. l'Abbé Brémond, académicien, et historien du sentiment religieux, ne vient-il pas de donner aux *Nouvelles Littéraires* une série d'articles pour défendre l'attitude et les théories de Valéry? Toutes les revues littéraires cherchent à publier des extraits ou des explications de Valéry. Nul n'est plus fêté que lui. On le proclame le plus grand poète français. Pour ma part je l'admire beaucoup et l'ai dit. Mais je ne pense pas que ses seules qualités littéraires et poétiques auraient suffi à lui valoir cette situation royale, s'il n'était apparu comme une sorte d'apôtre de la vie intérieure. La première de ses œuvres, qui véritablement attirât la curiosité et la sympathie, fut cette extraordinaire *Soirée chez Monsieur Teste* où Valéry définissait la méthode qu'il employait pour comprendre, dominer et posséder le monde, grâce au simple exercice de ses forces intellectuelles. Cette exaltation de la raison, ou plus proprement d'une imagination raisonnante, a séduit les plus hardis, les meilleurs de la génération qui monte. Valéry, traduit en

anglais par T. S. Eliot, étudié en Allemagne par le grand Curtius, patronné par l'Abbé Brémond et la jeune école française, est pour beaucoup une sorte de directeur spirituel. Nous retrouvons déjà dans nos revues des vers "à la Valéry," mais surtout nous discernons un peu partout chez les poètes des vies et des attitudes "à la Valéry."

Au-dessus de lui pourtant je placerai un "maître" dont l'influence a été plus forte et plus universelle encore: André Gide. On a déjà beaucoup discuté autour de son nom. On peut, selon le point de vue, le considérer comme le plus grand auteur français vivant, ou comme un écrivain presque négligeable. Lui non plus n'a jamais su ou voulu donner à ses livres ces tirages énormes qui font de vous l'égal d'un Ministre ou d'un Maréchal de France et vous ouvrent les portes de tous les salons, comme de tous les journaux. Il est resté un auteur difficile, bien que sa langue soit simple, élégante et extraordinairement belle. Mais sa pensée a toujours inquiété, les gens établis s'en sont toujours défié. Nul parti ne l'a reconnu comme sien. Par ailleurs, depuis plus de vingt ans, il a fixé et retenu l'attention des jeunes. Il a été un centre de tempêtes, de discussions et de contradictions. N'était-il pas le mystérieux inspirateur de la *Nouvelle Revue Française*, toujours présent et toujours absent? Pas un grand mouvement de la pensée française depuis vingt ans auquel il ne se soit mêlé, où il n'ait joué un rôle, où il n'ait exercé une influence. Ses *Caves du Vatican*, publiées en 1914 ont été comme le bréviaire de la jeune génération. Il a tracé dans ce livre, par avance un type "Lafcadio" que tant d'écrivains d'avant-garde ont cherché à réaliser.

L'importance d'André Gide résulte bien moins de son style admirable et si neuf, de son don d'invention et d'adaptation, que de son attitude en face de la vie. Gide a représenté pour plus de dix générations françaises l'inquiétude réfléchie, systématique, intelligente et inlassable. Il ne repousse ni le monde spirituel comme les naturalistes, ni le monde matériel comme les idéalistes, il ne se désintéresse ni de la beauté, ni de la bonté, ni du vice, ni du crime; si Proust offre aux jeunes le moyen de jouir en eux-mêmes du monde, si Valéry leur donne une méthode pour

comprendre et posséder l'univers, grâce à l'intelligence poétique, Gide a créé la discipline du désir. Il a su développer, cultiver et magnifier en lui à un degré suprême, cette force qui ne s'arrête, ni ne se fixe, mais nous porte toujours en avant et reste en somme notre véritable raison de vivre: le désir. A une époque où alternent dépression et exaltation, il représentait donc la forme la plus attirante de l'esprit moderne et devait servir à beaucoup. Son originalité et sa puissance résultent de la façon dont il traite le désir, qu'il considère comme une force, bonne en elle-même, devant être recherchée et entretenue pour elle-même et non pour le but auquel elle vise. Chacun de ses livres est le drame d'un désir, mais aucun de ses livres ne finit; le but n'est jamais atteint ou bien est dépassé. Son action personnelle et littéraire sur nos jeunes écrivains me semble avoir été plus violente et plus générale que celle de tous les autres maîtres. Pour oser l'affirmer il faudrait néanmoins étudier tous ceux qui ont agi plus ou moins directement sur l'état d'esprit des écrivains français depuis vingt ans, et la liste serait assez longue. On ne devrait négliger ni un Romain Rolland, ni un Claudel, ni un Jules Romains, ni Madame Colette, ni Barrès, ni Maurras, ni Péguy. Mais je ne prétends point ici faire un catalogue de tous les maîtres des présentes générations littéraires françaises. J'ai seulement voulu donner une idée d'un phénomène qui me semble très curieux et assez difficile à saisir. Derrière les auteurs à grande vente il existe en France tout un groupe de littérateurs, qui, sans faire autant de bruit, exercent une influence intellectuelle, artistique et spirituelle, infiniment plus considérable et plus efficace. Ce sont en général, comme on a pu le constater, des poètes, avant tout préoccupés de la vie intérieure de l'homme et acceptant comme un fait le dualisme psychologique (que l'on peut énoncer Ame-Corps, ou sujet-objet, ou individu-milieu, ou action-temps, ou désir-possession). Ils s'expriment soit en vers, soit par des sortes de romans où l'élément d'invention et de poésie domine. Ils s'imposent et par la forme qu'ils donnent à leurs œuvres, et par le type humain qu'ils imaginent et suggèrent, et par la discipline qu'ils inventent. À une époque où les écrivains même novices semblent complètement libres et isolés, ces maîtres créent de

véritables écoles, qui ne se réunissent point en un lieu, ni ne reconnaissent point toujours une même doctrine, mais qui subissent une même obsession et la servent. Ils font leur chemin à travers le siècle, comme le Gulf-Stream traverse l'Atlantique, sans s'y mêler.

Quoi que l'on pense ils sont un solide appui pour les jeunes. Ils sont aussi pour eux un grand stimulant. Ils les aident et les poussent en avant. Il faut les étudier pour comprendre la production littéraire de la France contemporaine.

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THE UNITY OF *RAOUL DE CAMBRAI*

WHEN Meyer and Longnon in their critical edition of *Raoul de Cambrai*¹ developed their thesis of its eminently historical character, they took it for granted that the poem as it has been preserved to us consists of two quite distinct parts, one containing the original poem or rather a revised version of it, the other an addition of some inferior poet. Almost all critics who have examined the *chanson* have adopted the same viewpoint; however G. Paris² and E. Sternberg³ noted some relationship between the two parts of the poem (rather vaguely, to be sure) and in a posthumous review Tavernier⁴ went so far as to affirm the unity of the poem, promising moreover to publish an account of his theory. But as the proposed article of Tavernier never appeared and as Professor Behrens wrote me that no such study had been found among his papers, I decided to further investigate the matter.

I

The situation that confronts us is this: *Raoul de Cambrai* is preserved in one manuscript.⁵ The first 249 *laissez* of the poem are in rhyme, the rest in assonance.⁶ Of these two parts it is generally conceded that the first, because of the unusual number of *chevilles* and its defects of structure, is a revision of another poem; whereas the second part is in practically the original form.

If we examine the poem casually, the first division that would

¹ Paris, 1882 (S. A. T. F.).

² *Journ. des sav.*, 1887, p. 627.

³ *Das Tragische in den Chansons de Geste*, Berlin, 1915, p. 108.

⁴ *Z. F. S. L.*, XLVI, 119.

⁵ *Bibl. Nat.*, no. 2493, *fonds fr.* Fauchet's extract of some 250 lines (*Bibl. Nat.*, 24,726, *fonds fr.*) and the Belgian fragment edited by A. Bayot (*Rev. des Bibl. et Arch. de Belgique*, 1906, 11 ff.) are probably derived from the first MS. I have mentioned.

⁶ Throughout this discussion I refer to the first 249 *laissez* as Part I, to the rest as Part II.

occur to us is on the basis of rhyme and assonance: it would be natural therefore to consider as did Meyer and Longnon that the first part represents the original poem and that the second part was added after the first had already been revised. Upon further examination however the situation becomes quite complicated. In the first place, as G. Paris remarks,⁷ the continuation in assonance of a poem in verse would be a curious, practically a unique phenomenon. In the second place the conclusion of the rhymed portion of the poem is so abrupt as to at once arouse our suspicion that there is a decided *lacuna*. If no other continuation of the poem existed, we should merely accept this truncated version without further ado. But in the case of *Raoul de Cambrai* not only does a continuation of undoubted antiquity exist; it is likewise appended to the first 249 *laissez* in the only existing MS. Note too that this continuation does not initiate an entirely new series of *péripéties*; on the contrary it represents the logical conclusion of events which were about to come to a head in Part I but which were left dangling.

In view of these considerations I have another theory to offer⁸ which if accepted would do away with the difficulties presented by that of Meyer and Longnon and this theory is: The original poem of *Raoul de Cambrai*⁹ included the original or assonanced version of Part I plus Part II as we now have it. An unknown *remanieur* began to revamp the entire poem but succeeded in revising only the first 249 *laissez*; for some unknown reason he was forced to relinquish the task, and he or else some scribe copied the rest of the poem in the original form.

⁷ *Journ. des sav.*, 1887, p. 628.

⁸ This theory was suggested to me in part by a somewhat similar one of G. Paris (*Journ. des sav.*, 1887, p. 628). He considers that the second part of the poem was added while the first was still in assonance; that an unknown *trouvère* began to revamp the entire poem and succeeded in revising only the first 249 *laissez*, the rest of the poem being copied in the original form. The theory however presents this very serious defect: The scribe who revised Part I would have the entire poem (the original plus the continuation) before him; yet he revised only the original poem. How could he have known where the original ended and the continuation began, particularly when there is no break of continuity between the two parts? It certainly would be a most extraordinary coincidence if he were to relinquish his task at exactly l. 5555, the last of Part I.

⁹ By "original" I mean the literary creation of the twelfth century *trouvère* who, as we shall see, had at least one previous version upon which to work.

This hybrid MS. was later copied by two scribes, whose work was not divided on the basis of the rhymed and assonanced portions of the poem.¹⁰

II

OBJECTIONS AND POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS TO THE THEORY OF IDENTICAL AUTHORSHIP OF PARTS I AND II

(1) *The Relative Dates of Parts I and II*

Have we any definite evidence to the effect that Part I or the original of Part I was composed before Part II? Only two documented attempts have been made to date the two parts of the poem. Becker¹¹ considers that Part I must have been composed before 1187 because there is an allusion to it in a *sirventés* of Bertran de Born¹² of that date. If we had no evidence to the effect that an anterior version of our poem existed, this reference would constitute at least strong *prima facie* evidence. But in the *Chronicon Walciodorensis*,¹³ which goes back to the end of the eleventh century,¹⁴ there is an account of the warfare between Raoul and the four sons of Herbert, an account much simpler than that represented in our *chanson* and which has been accepted almost universally¹⁵ as a mere adaptation of a current *chanson de geste*, similar enough to the extant *chanson* to indicate that it is a fore-runner. Consequently any allusions to *Raoul de Cambrai* might be to the anterior version or versions, if there were more than one. Of course if the allusion in Bertran de Born referred to a situation exactly reproduced in the existing version, there would be strong

¹⁰ The first scribe copied the first 6249 verses, the second the rest plus the first folio of the MS. Cf. Meyer and Longnon, *op. cit.*, LXXVI ff.

¹¹ *Grundriss*, p. 81.

¹² "Lo sors Guerris dis paraula cortesa,

Quan son nebot vi tornat en esfrei:

Que desarmatz volgra.n fos la fie presa,

Quan fo armatz, no volc penre plaidei" (ll. 29-32); ed. Stimming, Halle,

1913, p. 79.

¹³ *Mon. Germ., Script.*, XIV, 507.

¹⁴ Cf. *Hist. Lit.*, XXI, 703.

¹⁵ By all except J. Flach, whose fantastic theory (in *Journ. des sav.*, 1909, 122 ff.) has been fittingly interred by J. Acher (*Rev. d. l. rom.*, LIII, 106 ff.).

grounds for supposing that Bertran *may* have known and utilized our poem. But such is not the case. In the first place there is nothing to justify "tornat en esfrei" in l. 30 of the *serventés*; when Raoul suggests peace there is no indication that he is moved by fear. What is more important: no conscious differentiation is made in our poem between Guerri's attitude when unarmed and his attitude when he has already taken the field, though that is the crux of Bertran's allusion.

Kalbfleisch¹⁶ has endeavored to establish a *terminus a quo* for Part II on the basis of ll. 7260-2.¹⁷ As this reference is undoubtedly to the Medical School of Montpellier and as, according to Kalbfleisch, the fame of the University begins to be widespread in the thirteenth century, Part II cannot have been composed before then. As a matter of fact Bishop Adelbert of Mainz visited the school in 1137 in order to listen to its medical lectures; at that time the medical school was housed in a building of its own. St. Bernard refers to the medical school in his letters (1153) and there are several other prominent twelfth century references.¹⁸ This would seem to indicate that the school was quite widely known long before the period that Kalbfleisch assigns to it.

All other attempts to date the poem have apparently been based on mere conjecture; therefore chronological considerations cannot be invoked.

(2) *The Language of the Poem*

Goerke's thoroughgoing study of the language of the poem¹⁹ has convinced him that "die Heimat des ersten Verfasser (ist) in der Nähe der Städte Mézières und Sedan zu suchen" (p. 53), whereas "die Heimat des zweiten Verfasser dürfte zwischen Laon und Mézières liegen" (p. 54). If anything therefore, there is evidence of close linguistic kinship between Parts I and II.

¹⁶ *Die Realien in dem altfr. Epos Raoul de Cambrai*, Diss., Giessen, 1897, 67-8.

¹⁷ "A Montpellier, celle ville garnie,
Oïstes ains parler de la mecine
Qui aidast home de ceste fusensiele?"

¹⁸ For these references cf. Garrison's *Hist. of Medicine*,³ London, 1924, 154 ff.

¹⁹ *Die Sprache des Raoul de Cambrai*, Diss., Kiel, 1887.

(3) *Versification*

The versification of the two parts of the poem can offer us no criterion because we do not know how the *remanieur* changed the assonances in order to compose the rhymes. If assonances have crept in even in the rhymed redaction, such isolated cases may be traced to the negligence of the scribe.²⁰

(4) *The Historical Foundation of Part I*

One of the chief arguments brought forth against the possibility of identical authorship of Parts I and II is the statement that Part I is historical whereas Part II is not.

A. The Historical Events of Part I.—The only historical counterpart to the events related in *Raoul de Cambrai* is a brief passage from Flodoardus:²¹

"Heribertus comes obiit, quem sepulierunt apud S. Quintinum filii sui; et audientes Rodulfum, filium Rodulfi de Gaugiaco, quasi ad inuadendam terram patris eorum aduenisse aggressi eundem interemerunt. Quo audito, rex Lodovicus valde tristis efficitur."

The text of Flodoardus does not correspond exactly to the situation in our *chanson*; the king does not grieve for the death of Raoul. Furthermore there are no historical parallels for some of the most important events of the first part.

B. The Historical Personages of Part I.—Meyer and Longnon based their theory of the historical nature of Part I largely on the assumption that some of the personages are historical and that therefore the role assigned to them must also be more or less historical. But the researches of Acher²² and Bédier²³ must needs convince us that there is nothing historical about the roles of the personages if the names they bear are historical. Longnon's defence of his position²⁴ has been anything but convincing: on almost every point he has been forced to give way and if he has succeeded in holding his own against Bédier it has been only in attacking Bédier's theory of the monastic

²⁰ Cf. Meyer and Longnon, *op. cit.*, p. lxix, ll. 5-12.

²¹ *Annales Flodoardi*, anno 943. Ed. Lauer, p. 87.

²² *Rev. d. l. rom.*, I, 37-66; *ibid.*, LIII, 101-60; *Z. R. P.*, XXXIV, 88-90.

²³ *Rev. hist.*, XCV, 225-62; *ibid.*, XCVII, 1-26; *Leg. Ep.*, II, app.

²⁴ *Rom.*, XXXVII, 193-208, 491-6; *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 219-32.

origin of the Raoul legend which, as Acher has shown,²⁵ is open to grave attack. It is impossible to go into detail here in a discussion which at times is excruciatingly subtle; I shall merely repeat that any impartial critic must grant that hereafter there can be no talk of the historical character of *Raoul de Cambrai*.

(5) *Epic vs. Non-Epic Inspiration*

It has been suggested that Part II has the nature of a *roman d'aventures* whereas Part I has the pure epic inspiration.²⁶ Let us consider the discrepancies between Parts I and II in detail: according to the critics whom I cite they comprise the love-element and the element of the *romanesque* or more concretely the Bernier-Beatrix love-episode (*laissez* CCL-CCLXVI) and the adventures leading out of Bernier's first pilgrimage (*laissez* CCLXXXII-CCXCVIII, CCCXX-CCCXXXI).

Now if by "epic traits" we simply imply those features characteristic of the epic production of France of about the period of our own poem, we shall see that neither the love-episodes nor the adventures of Bernier contain any traits that cannot be paralleled in most of the other *chansons de geste* of about this time. The love-episode in *Raoul de Cambrai* is certainly not more extensive or florid than those in *La Prise d'Orange*, *Fierabras*, *Elie de Ste. Gile* or *Huon de Bordeaux*. Nor does the *trouvère* abandon the conventional epic technique in narrating the events of the first pilgrimage; similar ventures into the field of the *romanesque*, probably under the influence of the Arthurian epic,²⁷ are frequent in contemporaneous *chansons de geste*. The adventures in *Raoul de Cambrai* are few and tame²⁸ in comparison with those described in *La Bataille Loquifer*, *Aiol*, *Huon de Bordeaux* and *Garin de Montgalane*.

It will now be objected: It may be true that the *romanesque* traits in Part II may be paralleled in other French epics; but

²⁵ *Rev. hist.*, LIII, 120 ff.

²⁶ Meyer and Longnon, *op. cit.*, IV, IX; Kalbfleisch, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Bédier, *Rev. hist.*, XCV, 254; Sternberg, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁷ Cf. Engel, *Einflüsse der Arthurromane auf die Chansons de Geste*, Diss., Halle, 1910.

²⁸ For example the element of the miraculous is entirely absent from Part II unless we include in that category the chastity-preserving herb of ll. 6860-2.

how can one account for the fact that such traits are hardly to be found in Part I? Such an objection would be valid if I maintained that *Raoul de Cambrai* were invented *de toutes pièces* by the *trouvère* to whom I assign Part II and the original of Part I. But our previous discussion has shown that the poet had at least one anterior version of the poem to work on and the account in the *Chronicon Walciodorense* gives us a fairly clear idea of what this version was. It is evident that the material contained in the latter portion of Part I and all of Part II would be the specific contribution of our poet; and this material he developed in accordance with contemporaneous epic technique. Furthermore such blending of the epic and the *romanesque* is by no means unique, for we have exactly that state of affairs in *Huon de Bordeaux* which is admittedly the work of one poet.²⁹

(6) Characterization in Parts I and II

Meyer in his detailed study of the element of characterization in *Raoul de Cambrai*³⁰ has reached the conclusion that two of the personages who appear in Parts I and II are differentiated on the basis of characterization.

The King.—Meyer believes that the King of Part I is an insignificant weakling whereas in Part II "das Auftreten des Koenigs ist bei weitem ein fuerstlicheres und machtvolleres" (p. 42). But there is abundant evidence throughout Part I that the King is respected and even feared.³¹ If the King is treated uncereemoniously on occasion in Part I, being attacked by Bernier and even wounded (5432-5), he is no less uncereemoniously treated in Part II (5954-9; 6490-3).

Guerri.—Guerri has a far more important role; in his case too Meyer professes to observe a different type of character-delineation in Parts I and II. He maintains (pp. 32-3) that in Part II there is a marked tendency to emphasize the diplomatic traits in Guerri's character and not his warlike character as is the case in Part I; moreover "selbst die Tapferkeit ist ihm

²⁹ Cf. also a similar type of technique in *Aiol* and *Mainet*.

³⁰ *Ueber die Charakterisierung in der altfr. Heldendichtung Raoul de Cambrai*, Diss., Kiel, 1900.

³¹ Cf. 120 ff.; 731 ff.; 906-9; 5510 ff.

vom Dichter des zweiten Teils entzogen worden" (p. 33). There is nothing in the text to bear out Meyer's contention.

A. Guerri is every whit as prudent in Part I as in Part II.²² He even makes an outspoken *profession de foi* when Gautier would venture too much:

"Chevalerie ne pris je pas .I. gant
Ne vasaiege, se il n'i a sens grant" (4031-2).

B. Meyer thinks that Guerri's cowardice is revealed on two occasions: when he flees after striking Bernier on the occasion of the second pilgrimage (8419 ff.) and when he secretly departs from Arras, where he has been besieged by Bernier's sons (8716 ff.). But Guerri displays no cowardice on either occasion. If he flees after striking Bernier it is because of remorse and not because of fear of Bernier's two companions; inasmuch as he also had two retainers, Bernier's friends would be outnumbered. When he secretly withdraws from Arras under cover of night it is only after he has so bravely withstood the onslaught of the besiegers ("Bien se deffent d'Arras li sor Guerris," 8709) that they are forced to relinquish the assault (8712-3).

The foregoing indicates that were there no further evidence the theory I have advanced would be plausible at the very least. But there is certain positive evidence to invoke.

III

EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE THEORY OF IDENTICAL AUTHORSHIP OF PARTS I AND II

A. *Laisse* 249

Laisse 249, the last of Part I, contains a direct reference to the *laissez* that immediately follow and must therefore be integrally connected with Part II. I refer the reader to my discussion of this *laisse* in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIX, 470-75.

B. *Parallels between Parts I and II*

I. *Repetition of Motifs*.—Any one who has read the poem carefully will not have failed to note a curious idiosyncrasy in

²² Cf. 329 ff.; 740-1; 1274 ff.; 2170-3.

Part I, that of repeating an episode or motif apparently for no other reason than for its literary effect.³³ This forms one of the chief differentiating traits between the version analyzed by the *Chronicon Walciodorensense* and ours. Thus in the *Chronicon* there is but one appeal to Raoul before hostilities actually begin, likewise but one duel between Bernier and Gautier; in our version there are two messages and two duels. We may consider this trait therefore as characteristic of the *trouvère* of our version. Note how closely akin the repeated episodes are:

First Message

Wedon urges that a messenger be sent to Raoul for:

"Hons sans mesure ne vaut .I. alier" (2103).

Gerart delivers the message and Raoul consults Guerri (2161-8).

Guerri urges that Raoul accept the offer, but is rebuffed (2170-93).

Gerart challenges Guerri (2194-8).

Second Message

Wedon urges that a second messenger be sent for:

"Hom sans mesure est molt tos empiriés" (2212).

Bernier delivers his message and Raoul consults Guerri (2266-95).

Guerri now savagely refuses peace (2209-2305).

Bernier challenges Raoul (2314-8).

First Duel.

Before the duel Gautier seeks divine intercession (4292-3).

Bernier and Gautier fight, interspersing their blows with insolent comments (4471 ff., 4555 ff.).

Both combatants are wounded and are separated (4559-60).

Both would continue the combat (4570-80).

Second Duel

Before the duel each of the contestants attests the justice of his cause, swearing by the relics of the saints (4945-70).

Again they direct tremendous insults to each other as they fight (5003 ff.).

They are wounded and are separated (5119-21).

Both would continue the combat (5121-5).

³³ This type of repetition is not to be confused with the recapitulation in one *laisse* of the subject matter of a preceding *laisse*. Cf. W. Mülertt, *Laiszenverbindung u. Laissenwiederholung in den Ch. de G.*, Teildruck, Diss., Halle; Vol. VII of *Romanistische Arbeiten*, pub. by Niemeyer, Halle (edited by Voretzsch).

The same procedure is to be found in the second part:

A. Bernier undertakes two pilgrimages of atonement.

B. Beatrix is twice assigned by the King to Herchembaut de Ponthieu and is twice rescued by Bernier:

I

She is captured by the King and is bestowed by him upon Herchembaut:

"*Venés avant, Erchenbaut de Ponti:*

Prenés la dame, car je la vos otris" (6182-3).

She proves her fidelity to Bernier (6165-7, 6184-90, 6215 ff.).

She is rescued by Bernier (6410 ff.).

II

She is brought to the King and again the King bids Herchembaut take the lady:

"*Venés avant, biax amis, dist li rois,*

Prenés la dame, que je la vous ostrois" (6813-4).

She proves her fidelity to Bernier (6850 ff.; 7296-9).

She is rescued by Bernier (7475 ff.).

C. Bernier is recognized on two different occasions in Part II by "*I. plaie qui desos l'uel li siet*" (7104, 7485).

In B and C above there is practically a repetition of the same line, which trait we find likewise in the case of the two messages in Part I.

Now this similarity of technique between Parts I and II is striking. But what is even more significant is the fact that if we consider the poem as an organic whole we find that an entire episode of Part I is duplicated in Part II with almost the same type of technique as heretofore.

Part I

The high point of the first part is the death of Raoul.

Before the body of Raoul is brought in Alice has a prophetic vision:

"*De la pour la dame c'esper*" (3520).

Alice learns of the death of Raoul and grieves mightily (3545 ff.).

Gautier promises vengeance (3614 ff.).

Part II

The high point of the second part is the death of Bernier.

Just before learning of Bernier's death Beatrix tells of a prophetic vision:

"*De la paor maintenant m'esper*" (8476).

Beatrix learns of the death of Bernier and her grief is as great (8505 ff.).

Julien promises vengeance (8518 ff.).

Note that as heretofore a line in the first of the parallel episodes is incorporated in the second.

II. *Feminine Personages in Parts I and II.*—There are decided indications of similar conception of the characteristics of Heluis and Alice, the two feminine personages in Part I, and Beatrix, the only feminine character of Part II (in fact there are even verbal similarities involved):

Part I.—*Heluis*

Says the *trouvère*:

"Qui bien l'esgarde vis est que toz jors rie" (3663).

At the bier of Raoul Heluis rather oddly recalls that:

"La vostre alaine estoit tos jors novele" (3693).

Part I.—*Alice*

Alice is on occasion more vigorous than womanly. When she sees Bernier lying prostrate:

"Seure li cort, si saisi .I. levier;
Ja l'eüst mort sans autre recovrier
Mais li baron ne li laissent touchier" (5244-6).

The family likeness of the feminine personages of Parts I and II is quite strong. Note also the parallel lines in the above.

III. *Longinus.*—Longinus is frequently mentioned in Part I.⁴ When Bernier pleads with Gautier he urges the case of Longinus:

"Ja pardonna Diex sa mort a Longis" (5184).

In Part II when Bernier has been mortally wounded by Guerri he likewise bethinks him of Longinus (in almost the same phraseology):

"(Diex nostre pere) La soie mort pardona a Longis" (8434),

⁴ Ll. 1143, 3871, 4246, 5184, 5300.

Part II.—*Beatrix*

Of Beatrix he says:

"Vairs ot les ex, ce samble toz jors rie" (5568).

At the bier of Beatrix Bernier is stirred by kindred memories:

"La vostre alainne ert si beneürée
Con c'elle fust tote enbaucemée"
(8513-4).

Part II.—*Beatrix*

Similarly when Bernier, disguised as a pilgrim, informs Herchembaut how to restore his virile power, Beatrix is so vexed that:

"Devant li prist .I. baston de pomier,
Parmi la teste en vaut ferir B.,
Quant H. li vait des poings saichier" (7297-9).

and decides to forgive his slayer.

IV. *Other Possible Parallels.*

A. The following *reprovers* are quite similar:

Part I

"Fox est li hom qui croit concel
d'enffans" (3938).

Part II

"Con par est fox li hom qi feme
croit" (5783).

B. "Qe boivre ne mengier" is used as a term of comparison in the following:

Part I

"'Diex,' dist Guerris, 'g'en ai tel
desirier
Plus le covoit qe boivre ne
mengier'" (3802-3).

"Mieus aim cest colp qe boivre
ne mengier" (4529).

Part II

"Qi le poroit acoler et baisier,
Miex li valroit qe boivre ne
mengier" (5605-6).

C. The same type of dry humor is evident in these passages:

Part I

"Qi la chai bien est del tans issus,
Ja por froisdure n'escera mais
vestus" (3896-7).

Part II

"Car la quidoient faire lor grant
mengier,
Mais or porra par loisir re-
froidier" (6074-5).

A detailed analysis of the poem would indicate clearly that Part II is integrally connected with Part I from the viewpoint of epic motivation; but an analysis of this sort would really constitute a study in itself. Moreover I have already presented enough evidence, I believe, to indicate that the theory of the unity of *Raoul de Cambrai* is more logical than that of separate authorship of Parts I and II, that the considerations that have been urged against it cannot withstand analysis, and that it is supported by certain parallels (even textual parallels) which are too numerous to be due to mere coincidence.

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MISCELLANEOUS

NOTES ON SPANISH PLAYS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

THE theatrical season of 1924-25 in Madrid was marked by rather more than usual interest in Romantic plays. In addition to several revivals of dramas of the Romantic Period, there was a new and highly successful play closely akin to them in style and spirit, written by authors of great distinction. Ferenc Molnar's *The Swan* also achieved considerable success in Madrid, as it had previously in New York when so ably presented by the Theatre Guild. The Spanish translation was made by Martínez Sierra. It would be fair to say that this is a Romantic play with a realistic ending—a sort of critique of Romanticism. Every season in Madrid sees at least one play of the Romantic era: the unfailingly popular *Don Juan Tenorio*. Anyone who has been in Madrid around All Souls' Day realizes what a national institution this work of Zorrilla has become. It serves, incidentally, to keep certain aspects of Romanticism fresh in everyone's mind. Last season saw also two more of this author's plays: *El zapatero y el rey* and *Traidor, infanado y mártir*. Romanticism was further represented by *Don Alvaro* and *Hernani*.¹ The new Romantic play—for the advertised description “comedia legendaria de capa y espada” does not really contradict this—was *Don Luis Mejía*, a verse drama by Eduardo Marquina and Alfonso Hernández Catá. As the title suggests, the theme is inspired by *Don Juan Tenorio*. A note in *El Sol* of Feb. 6, 1925, affirms that the play has achieved “one of the greatest triumphs which the history of the contemporary theatre can recall.” The authors were shortly afterward

¹ *Hernani* was first translated by Eugenio de Ochoa and played in Madrid in 1836. The version presented in December, 1924, was made by Antonio and Manuel Machado and Francisco Villaespesa. It was played—poorly, if we may accept newspaper reports—by the Guerrero-Mendoza company. An excellent review by E. Díez-Canedo will be found in *El Sol* of Jan. 2, 1925.

honored with a banquet attended by nearly all the literary élite of Madrid.

Knowledge of the Romantic Period in Spain is not as complete as we should like; anything that increases it however slightly ought to be of some value. Considerable information is afforded by the newspapers of the time, as well as by the collected works of authors whose period of productivity fell within the Romantic epoch. The recrudescence of interest in the Romantic Theatre which we have just mentioned tempts us all the more to turn our gaze to the Spanish stage of the Eighteen-Thirties, in the hope of gaining a better understanding of some of its lesser known features. The great critic of those times, Mariano José de Larra, published in early April, 1835, in the *Revista Española*, a most illuminating article entitled *Una Primera Representación*.² What sort of a play, he asks, is the first-nighter likely to see in either one of the two theatres of Madrid? Larra then proceeds to enumerate no less than eight varieties of spectacles, with brief comments on each. This large number was by no means an exaggeration; the advertisements and reviews in the newspapers of the time show that the classification might even be extended. For example, Larra does not mention one sort of play—if we may call it a play—which the spectator was not unlikely to see at any time, and that was the "comedia de magia." This variety of spectacle, with its interest mainly dependent upon stage effects, was no new flower which had suddenly blossomed in the Nineteenth Century; its roots go much farther back. Without attempting to trace the history of the genre, we may say that Ruiz de Alarcón's *La manganilla de Melilla* was a well developed "comedia de tramoya," and that *El asombro de Francia o Marta la Romarantina*, a comedy of magic by José de Cañizares (1676-1750), enjoyed considerable popularity throughout the Eighteenth Century and was still being played during the career of the great actor Isidoro Máiquez (died 1820). Plays of a similar nature were *La campanilla*, *El anillo de Giges* and *El mágico de Eriván*. Undoubtedly the most popular play of the Nineteenth

² Reprinted in Larra's works: e.g., the edition by Garnier, Paris, no date, Vol. 2, pp. 332 ff.

Century before *Don Juan Tenorio* was a comedy of magic entitled *La pata de cabra*. The full title is remarkable enough to be worth quoting: *Todo lo vence amor, o la pata de cabra. Melo-mimo-drama mitológico, burlesco, de magia y de grande espectáculo. En tres actos, por Don Juan de Grimaldi*.³ Anyone who has been curious enough to read the play will have found that it is all that its title suggests and a little more. Juan, the hero, is about to blow his brains out, when a black goat is brought in by Cupid, put in an urn, the urn struck by lightning, and naught left but one hoof. This Cupid hands to Juan, telling him that it will give him his heart's desire. After many a spectacular trick, including the defeat of Vulcan and all his Cyclops, Juan and his beloved Leonor are united in wedlock, to the discomfiture of Juan's *gracioso* rival Don Simplicio. Such a play is surely not worthy of mention for its literary excellence, which is not apparent, but its popularity was unbounded. *La pata de cabra* may still occasionally be seen nowadays, and in its own time it had one hundred and twenty-three performances, a phenomenal record for a period when a week's run was considered evidence of real success. The box office receipts between 1829 and 1833 amounted to nearly one million *reales*.⁴ Zorrilla throws this sidelight upon the play: "Estaba absolutamente prohibido a todos los españoles de las provincias venir a Madrid sin una razón justificada, y el Superintendente visó 72,000 pasaportes por esta poderosa e irrecusable razón, escrita en ellos a favor de sus portadores: 'Pasa a Madrid a ver La Pata de Cabra.'" ⁵ The public was particularly delighted with the performance of the comedian Guzmán in the rôle of the hero's rival, Don Simplicio de Bobadilla Majaderano Cabeza de Buey. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that Grimaldi was the adapter rather than the author, for his astounding drama was based on Martainville's *Le Pied de mouton*.

Judging from numerous newspaper advertisements of performances, *La pata de cabra* maintained a vigorous popularity

³ Quoted from the third edition, Madrid, 1841.

⁴ V. Carmen de Burgos (Colombine), *Figaro*, Madrid, 1919, p. 78.

⁵ Zorrilla, *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo*, Barcelona, 1880; *Hojas traspapeladas*, pp. 8-9.

all through the Eighteen-Thirties; hence it was but natural that imitators should try to reap a part of the harvest it had planted. *El diablo verde*, *Juana la Rabicortona*, *La cabeza de bronce* and *Brancanelo el herrero* were in similar vein. Bretón was the author of *Jocó el orangután* (1831) and *La pluma prodigiosa*. The fact that the latter was presented in 1841 shows that the genre was by no means banished from the stage by Romanticism, a fact of which we have further evidence in the production of Hartzenbusch's *Los polvos de la madre Celestina* (translated from the French of Laloue, Anicet Bourgeois and Laurent) and *La redoma encantada*. The latter appeared in 1839 and the former in 1841.

The first group of plays which Larra mentions in his classification is comprised by the "comedia antigua, bajo cuyo rótulo general se comprenden todas las obras dramáticas anteriores a Comella; de capa y espada, de intriga, de gracioso, de figurón, etc." This is no small class, and some particular examples may be interesting. It is well known that even at the height of the Neo-Classic movement in the Eighteenth Century the plays of the Siglo de Oro never lost their vogue, and that they have never really lost it up to the present. *La Estrella de Sevilla* has recently been played; I have seen Ricardo Calvo in excellent productions of *Las mocedades del Cid* and *No hay burlas con el amor*, and the audience was enthusiastic in each case. Lope's *El perro del hortelano*, in a new adaptation made by Antonio and Manuel Machado, was announced for presentation in the autumn of 1925. These are merely random illustrative instances. Instead of being presented in their original form, these plays were more often adapted, as in the case of *El perro del hortelano*. This was partly true in the Eighteenth Century, and became increasingly so in the Nineteenth, the familiar words following a newspaper announcement of a *comedia antigua* being: "refundida en cinco actos." The actress Rita Luna, who retired from the stage in 1807 at the age of thirty-six, always showed a great fondness for the older theatre. In her last season on the stage, for example, she appeared in the following: *La moza de cántaro*, *Lo cierto por lo dudoso*, *Casarse por vengarse*, *El Doctor Carlino*,

La Estrella de Sevilla, *La cisma de Inglaterra*, *El desdén con el desdén*, *El vergonzoso en palacio*, *El perro del hortelano*, *Las bizarrías de Belisa* and others.⁶ Isidoro Máiquez was more eclectic, but some of his greatest triumphs were won in Siglo de Oro plays. Three of his favorites were *El pastelero de Madrigal* (Cuéllar), *El ricohombre de Alcalá* (Moreto) and *García del Castañar* (Rojas Zorrilla). He also acted in *El mejor alcalde el Rey* (Lope), *Por la puente, Juana* (Lope), *El alcalde de Zalamea* (Calderón), *El astrólogo fingido* (Calderón), *La villana de la Sagra* (Tirso), *El parecido en la corte* (Moreto), *Cuántas veo tantas quiero* (Avellaneda and Villaviciosa) and at least a score of others.⁷ Many of these plays were adapted for Máiquez by his friend and prompter Dionisio Solís. Another adapter of no small merit was Cándido María Trigueros (1736-1801?), among whose *refundiciones* we might mention Lope's *La Moza de cántaro* and *Los melindres de Belisa*. Speaking of Trigueros' version of *La Estrella de Sevilla*, Menéndez Pelayo says: "... dió y ganó la primera batalla romántica treinta años antes del romanticismo." The vogue of the old *comedia* by no means ceased with the death of Máiquez, but continued vigorously through the 'Twenties and 'Thirties. Bretón de los Herreros began where Solís left off, and to him we owe no few adaptations, such as Lope's *Los Tellos de Meneses* (1826), Calderón's *La carcelera de sí misma* (1826), Moreto's *El príncipe y el villano* (1827), Calderón's *No hay cosa como callar* (1827), Lope's *Si no vieran las mujeres* (1828), Alarcón's *Las paredes oyen* (1829) and Calderón's *Con quien vengo vengo* (1831).⁸ Hartzenbusch, ever interested in the older theatre, made several adaptations, extending in time from the late 'Twenties to 1862, in which year he made an arrangement of *El perro del hortelano* for the opening of the Teatro Lope de Vega. His other *refundiciones* were: Rojas Zorrilla, *El amo criado* and *Progne y Filomela*; Tirso, *La prudencia en la mujer* and *Desde Toledo a Madrid* (in collaboration with Bretón); Calderón, *El médico de su honra* and *Guárdate del agua mansa*; and Lope's *La confusión de un jardín*, *La esclava de su galán*, and *Sancho Ortiz*

⁶ V. E. Cotarelo, *Isidoro Máiquez y el teatro de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1902, *passim*.

⁷ *Id.*, esp. the lists of plays published on pp. 574-837.

⁸ V. Bretón, *Obras*, Madrid, 1883-4, Vol. 1, pp. xx-xxix.

de las Roelas. The latter is not Lope's own title, but the one bestowed by Trigueros in his adaptation mentioned above. Hence Hartzenbusch was adapting an adaptation.⁹

Perhaps what has been said would be sufficient to show that the Siglo de Oro plays were not driven from the stage by the Romantic fever and to illustrate something of what Larra meant by the "comedia antigua"; yet mention of one or two plays of 1836 might be of interest. On June 5 of that year there was a performance of *El garrote más bien dado* (an adaptation of Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea*), and eight days later *El rey valiente y justiciero y ricohombre de Alcalá* ("refundida en cinco actos"). Tirso's *Marta la piadosa* was shown on June 26, and on the 28th Cuéllar's *El pastelero de Madrigal*, the latter probably in the form of the adaptation which had been made for Máiquez by Solís. One naturally speculates as to whether the youthful Zorrilla saw this or other performances of the *Pastelero*, and whether it had anything to do with his writing *Traidor, inconfeso y mártir*, which is, by the way, much superior to Cuéllar's drama and by no means a mere imitation or adaptation of it. It will be observed that the above plays were produced after *La conjuración de Venecia* (1834), *Macías* (1834), *Don Álvaro* (1835) and *El Trovador* (Mar. 1, 1836): in other words, after Romanticism is commonly said to have "triumphed" in the Spanish theatre. Moreover, many of the successful plays of the Romantic era were in essence adaptations of works of the older theatre. One has but to recall Larra's *Macías*, Hartzenbusch's *Los amantes de Teruel*, Gil y Zárate's *Guzmán el Bueno*, Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* as conspicuous examples. This is another proof of the close connection existing between the Siglo de Oro and the Romantic period in Spain.

These plays, however, are not the only ones included by Larra in his first class, for he says "all dramatic works prior to Comella." Francisco Comella, an author of slight worth but of rather voluminous production (he wrote some hundred and thirty plays), died from eating too many herrings after a period of near-starvation in 1812. Moncín, Zabala, Valladares and he were the sort of dramatists whom Moratín satirized in

⁹ V. E. Hartzenbusch (hijo), *Bibliografía de Hartzenbusch*, Madrid, 1900.

his *Comedia nueva*, and Comella made an unsuccessful endeavor to prevent the production of this play. Trigueros, already mentioned, had a much better understanding of the older theatre, even though his original plays had little success. Dramatic productions of such authors as these appeared from time to time in the Eighteen-Twenties, but rarely in the 'Thirties. Comella's *Federico II* had a rather long life; Moncín's *El embustero engañado* was played occasionally up to the middle of the Nineteenth Century. The latter was a translation of Goldoni's *Il mentiroso*, which was based on Alarcón's *La verdad sospechosa*.¹⁰

As the next class of plays mentioned by Larra we shall consider the comedy in the style of Molière and Moratín. This was the kind of comedy ardently desired by the Eighteenth Century Neo-Classicists, but only Moratín himself won success in such plays before Bretón de los Herreros and Martínez de la Rosa began their careers. Molière^{10a} has enjoyed esteem in Spain, but no popular vogue. His *Bourgeois gentilhomme* was translated and played in 1680; *Tartuffe* and *Le Misanthrope* were translated in verse by José Marchena (1768-1821). Moratín was the translator of *L'École des maris* and *Le Médecin malgré lui*. *Le Mariage forcé* and *Le Cocu imaginaire* were translated by Hartzenbusch. *Cartas españolas* for Oct. 22, 1831, mentions a performance of *El avaro* with the comment that it was "poderosamente mal traducido." *Le Médecin malgré lui* (entitled in translation *El médico a palos*) was being played in April, 1836. Alberto Lista translated *Le Malade imaginaire*.

A stupid censorship in the time of Ferdinand VII had prohibited Moratín's *La mogigata* (first played in 1804) and *El sí de las niñas* (1806). An article in the *Revista Española* for Dec. 31, 1833, states that these plays are again permitted. (This was after the death of Ferdinand VII, which occurred on Sept. 29 of that year.) That Moratín's works had not left the minds of Spaniards is well attested by an article of Larra.¹¹ He states that *El sí de las niñas* brought tears to the eyes of

¹⁰ Hurtado and González Palencia, *Historia de la lit. esp.*, p. 685.

^{10a} V. E. Cotarelo, *Traductores castellanos de Molière*, in *Estudios de historia literaria de España*, Madrid, 1901, pp. 291 ff.

¹¹ In his review of *La mogigata*. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 24 ff.

the audience, and in certain places where changes had been made in Moratín's text, the spectators immediately knew it and protested. The management made the desired restorations. *El café* and *El barón* were played from time to time. We should include in this class also many of the plays of Gorostiza, Bretón and Martínez de la Rosa which appeared before and during the Romantic period. Gorostiza and Bretón were never converted to the school of Romanticism, and Martínez was a rather lukewarm proselyte. Gorostiza is best known for his *Contigo pan y cebolla* (1833), a satire of Romanticism before it had gotten well under way in Spain. It had considerable success in the year when it was first produced, and was repeated at intervals. It was being played again in July, 1836.¹² Bretón began his very productive career as an author of comedies in 1817 with *A la vejez viruelas*, and by 1873 he had a hundred and seventy-seven plays to his credit. In the 'Thirties he busied himself mainly in translating French plays for the Spanish stage, but he also produced then some of his best comedies of manners, such as *El ingenuo*, *Marcela*, *Un tercero en discordia*, *Un novio para la niña*, *Elena*, *Todo es farsa en este mundo*, *Una de tantas*, *Muérete ¡y verás!* and *Ella es él*. These plays were quite outside the current of Romanticism.¹³ Martínez de la Rosa's comedies of the Moratinian type were written mainly before the Romantic period. *Lo que puede un empleo* belongs to 1812; *La niña en casa y la madre en la máscara* to 1821 and *Los celos infundados* to 1833. We shall speak later of his *Édipo* and of his Romantic dramas.

What Larra calls the "Classic Tragedy" was in vogue in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century and first part of the Nineteenth. Unlike the comedies of which we have been speaking, this genre furnished rather little competition to the Romantic drama. Some of these tragedies were original, but more were translated. We must not misunderstand the term

¹² Gorostiza, *Obras*, Mexico, 1899-1902, 4 vols., and *Teatro*, Paris, 1822, and Brussels, 1825.

¹³ *Obras de D. M. B. de los H.*, Madrid, 1883-4, 5 vols.; Marqués de Molina, *Bretón de los Herreros, recuerdos de su vida y de sus obras*, Madrid, 1883; G. Le Gentil, *Le Poète Manuel Bretón de los Herreros et la société espagnole de 1830 à 1860*, Paris, 1909.

"classic"; it rarely means translation or imitation of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, but rather of the French and Italian tragedies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Ducis, Alfieri and Metastasio were the principal but not the only models. Shakespeare was known almost entirely through Ducis. The unfavorable opinion of Shakespeare in Eighteenth Century Spain is too well known to need comment. He fared little better in the early Nineteenth Century. García de Villalta's verse translation of *Macbeth*, for example, was hissed down in 1838. The original Spanish tragedies in the Eighteenth Century never enjoyed any great degree of success. The most popular of all was García de la Huerta's *Raquel*; but this, while a classic tragedy in form, was in spirit an heroic comedy. Máiquez starred in several tragedies, mainly translated, before 1820.¹⁴ Further examples of this genre continued to be shown in the 'Twenties and early 'Thirties. Nor was the Romantic period without them. The most successful original tragedy of the times was by Martínez de la Rosa. His *Viuda de Padilla* (1814) and *Morayma* (1818) created no great stir, but such was not the case with his *Édipo*, produced early in 1832. Carnerero, after a flattering review in *Cartas Españolas* on Feb. 9, 1832, adds the significant words: "*Édipo* da dinero." Menéndez Pelayo says that of all imitations of Sophocles it is "la más descargada de accesorios extraños, la más sencilla y por tanto, la mejor." I find mention of its being played again in 1836. Hartzenbusch translated Voltaire's *Adélaïde Duguesclin*, *L'Écossaise* and *L'Enfant prodigue* and made an arrangement of his *Édipe*; also the *Merope* of Alfieri. Bretón translated Racine's *Andromaque* and *Mithridate*, G. de la Touche's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, Le Franc de Pompignan's *Dido*, Alfieri's *Antigone* and Lebrun's *Marie Stuart*. His tragedy *Mérope* (1835) is original.

An author far more popular on the Spanish stage than any we have yet mentioned was Eugène Scribe. Larra, making a separate class of his works, refers rather contemptuously to them as "la piecécita de costumbres sin costumbres." Never-

¹⁴ Such as *Otelo* (Ducis), *Blanca y Moncásin* (Arnault), *La muerte de Abel* (Legouvé), *El Cid* (Corneille), *Los hijos de Édipo* (Alfieri), *Oscar* (Arnault), *Cinna* (Corneille), *Orestes* (Alfieri), etc. V. E. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, passim.

theless numerous plays of his were translated and acted, and the Romantic cohorts did not drive him from the boards. Scribe had gained great popularity in Spain by 1833, a fact of which we have eloquent testimony by Larra himself. Writing in the *Revista Española* of May 24, 1833, on Scribe's *La nieve* (*La Neige, ou Le nouvel Éginard*, translated by Bretón), he says: "Traducida?—Claro.—Autor?—Scribe; eso ya no se pregunta." And further, in his article *La vida de Madrid* (1834):¹⁵

—"¿Qué se da en el teatro? dice uno.

—Aquí: 1° sinfonía; 2° pieza del célebre Scribe; 3° sinfonía; 4° pieza nueva del fecundo Scribe; 5° sinfonía; 6° baile nacional; 7° la comedia nueva en dos actos, traducida también del ingenioso Scribe; 8° sinfonía; 9° . . .

—Basta, basta; ¡santo Dios!"

It will be remembered, however, that Larra had begun his dramatic career with *No más mostrador*, inspired by Scribe's *Les Adieux au comptoir*; though Larra defended himself vigorously against charges of plagiarism. His *Siempre, El arte de conspirar*, *Partir a tiempo* and *Tu amor o la muerte* were translations from Scribe. Bretón translated more than a dozen of Scribe's plays, including among others: *Valérie* (1826), *Une Visite à Bedlam* (1828), *Zôé, ou l'Amant prêté* (1831), *La Belle-mère* (1831), *Le Vieux Garçon et la petite fille* (1833), *La Neige* (1833), *Caroline* (1834) and *Les Deux Précepteurs* (1834). García Gutiérrez translated *Le Vampire* (1834), *La Bohémienne, ou l'Amérique en 1775* (1835), *Le Quaker et la danseuse* (1835) and *La Camaraderie* (1837). Hartzenbusch has two translations from Scribe belonging to the 'Forties: *Le Bon Papa* and *Les Deux Maris*. Still others of Scribe's works are mentioned in *Cartas Españolas* and the *Revista Española*, regularly without the name of the translator. Immediately after the performance of *El trovador* (1836) the same actors gave a play of Scribe entitled *Las fronteras de Saboya o el marido de tres mujeres*.¹⁶

Another class of plays which helped to prepare the way for Romanticism and which, in fact, had much in common with the Romantic productions was the "sentimental and terrorific

¹⁵ Larra, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 247 ff.

¹⁶ V. the review by Larra, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 51 ff.

drama," as Larra calls it; this being also a translated product. One of the earliest, most typical and most popular of such plays was one which Baron von Schack refers to as the worst of modern times: Kotzebue's *Menschenhasse und Reue*, translated into Spanish by Solís. It was played by Rita Luna about the year 1800, and continued to be shown at intervals even in the 'Thirties. La Harpe's *La novicia o la víctima del claustro* was played in the 'Twenties. As typical of this class Larra mentions *La huérfana de Bruselas*, which we should be more inclined, perhaps, to class as melodrama. The distinction between the "sentimental and terrific" and the melodramatic is hard to make. By melodrama Larra means especially the product imported from the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin; otherwise we could readily include here not a few of the plays of the Siglo de Oro, and several plays of the early Nineteenth Century such as *Washington o la huérfana de Pensilvania* (1816), *El perro de Montargis*, *Eduardo en Escocia, o la noche de un proscrito*, *El huérfano y el asesino o el valle del torrente*, *El jugador* and other terrible "dramones" shown before 1820. In December, 1828, the youthful Larra refers to such plays as "esas piezas que vienen como un torrente a inundar nuestra escena."¹⁷ The titles of many of them are sufficient description: *El suplicio en el delito o los espectros*, *Los asesinos del correo de Nápoles*, *Expiación*, *Los ladrones de Marsella*, *Los dos sargentos franceses*, *Las ruinas de Babilonia*, *El mudo de Arpenas*, *El testigo en el bosque*; in other words, the sort of melodrama made familiar in France by such authors as Ducange, Pixérécourt and Caigniez. Ducange was especially popular in Spain; Larra himself translated his *Roberto Dillon o el católico de Irlanda*, Bretón his *El colegio de Tonnington*; and *El verdugo de Amsterdam* was shown in 1834. These plays were often on the boards. Larra's comment, written before he translated *Roberto Dillon*, was: "Esto contribuye a pervertir el gusto." This taste was indeed accompanied by a similar one with regard to the novel. The works of Sir Walter Scott¹⁸ and his French and Spanish imitators became too mild for some readers; and in 1832 I find in *Cartas Españolas* notice of a

¹⁷ E. Cotarelo, *Postfíguro*, Madrid, 1918, Vol. I, p. 143.

¹⁸ V. P. H. Churchman and E. Allison Peers, *A Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, Vol. 55, 1922, pp. 227-310.

twelve-volume set of novels entitled "*Galería fúnebre de historias trágicas*," and another referred to as a "*Galería fúnebre de espectros ensangrentados*." Larra thus begins his article called *Reflexiones acerca del modo de resucitar el teatro español*:

"Hase apoderado hoy la murria de nosotros: . . . Pues a fe de habladores, ni hemos estado luchando con las sombras ensangrentadas de Zaragoza, ni salimos de la representación de ningún melodrama traducido del francés."¹⁰

True, these melodramas were translated from the French, but one of them might be of especial interest to Americans: *El espía*, a play made from Cooper's novel. It was first produced in 1833, and in 1836, after another performance, it received the comment "que ha merecido siempre la aceptación pública." Larra reviewed it briefly in *El Correo de las Damas* on June 3, 1833, saying among other things ". . . su interesante argumento, de que no nos detendremos a dar análisis, supuesto que pocos de nuestros lectores desconocerán en el día las obras del autor del *Piloto*."

Another variety of play which the spectator might view in 1835 was the historical drama, a genre which flourished vigorously throughout the Romantic period, and, indeed, has appeared intermittently up to the present. The term "historical" refers to subject matter rather than to the essence of a work; Lope (not to mention many of his contemporaries and successors) wrote "historical" plays in his own mode; the Eighteenth Century produced plays similar, but surrounded by a colder and more restrained atmosphere. And so the greater part of the plays of the Romantic era might be historical (or legendary) in subject matter, but they were essentially Romantic, varying not so much in kind as in degree. The Romanticism of the "dramas históricos" of Martínez de la Rosa was mild; that of the historical plays of Dumas père or of Zorrilla was most violent. A mere list of the plays on historical subjects would fill many pages. Some of the more important authors among whose works such plays will be found were (in addition to the two Spanish authors just mentioned): Gil y Zárate, whose *Guzmán el Bueno* and *Carlos II el Hechizado*

¹⁰ Larra, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 112.

were especially famous; Bretón, Hartzenbusch, García Gutiérrez, García de Villalta, Escosura, Ariza, the Asquerinos, Príncipe, Pacheco, Larrañaga, J. M. Díaz, Asensio, Ochoa, Vega, the Marquis of Molins, Isidoro Gil, Rodríguez Rubí.²⁰

The eighth and last class of plays mentioned by Larra in the list to which we have so often referred is the Romantic drama. It is not our purpose here to attempt a study of the rise of Spanish Romanticism; we may say in passing that the subject is deserving of a much more detailed and extensive treatment than any which has ever been accorded to it. Larra's description of the genre runs thus:

"... hay, por fin, si no me dejo nada olvidado, el drama romántico, nuevo, original, cosa nunca hecha ni oída, cometa que aparece por primera vez en el sistema literario con su cola y sus colas de sangre y de mortandad, el único verdadero; descubrimiento escondido a todos los siglos y reservado solo a los Colones del siglo XIX. En una palabra, la naturaleza en las tablas, la luz, la verdad, la libertad en literatura, el derecho del hombre reconocido, la ley sin ley."

This invites discussion, but all that we shall attempt will be a brief chronology of the earlier Romantic plays, postponing a study of more essential features until some future time. Romanticism in the theatre was discussed in Spain earlier than one might suspect after reading the current manuals of Spanish literature. On April 1, 1825, ten years before *Don Álvaro*, an article appeared in the *Diario literario-mercantil* of Madrid under the ambitious title *Origen, vicisitudes, y estado actual de las bellas artes*. With regard to the drama, the anonymous author says:

"... Además, algunas naciones de origen germánico, desdenando la imitación de griegos y romanos cultivan un género ideal, llamado *romántico o caballeresco*, que está destinado a conservar la memoria de las ideas, caracteres y costumbres de la Edad Media."

This was only three years after Stendhal, in his *Racine et Shakespeare*, had definitely applied the word *romantique* to

²⁰ For a study of these authors, as well as of other important figures of Spanish Romanticism, see E. Piñeyro, *El romanticismo en España*, Paris, no date; and Blanco García, *La lit. esp. en el siglo XIX*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1909-1912.

characterize the modern school as opposed to the Classic. About 1827 the theatres began to classify the plays announced on their posters as "clásicos" or "románticos," though the latter actually meant melodrama. A play on March 25, 1830, for example, entitled *El bandido incógnito o la caverna invisible* was advertised as a "comedia romántica nueva," though the title and the newspaper reviewer in *El Correo* state that it was pure melodrama. Larra tells us about the dispute between Classicists and Romanticists in the second number of *El Duende Satírico del Día* (March, 1828).²¹ The issue is devoted to a review of V. Ducange's *Treinta años o la vida de un jugador*. (This play, *Trente Ans ou la vie d'un joueur*, was shown in Paris the year before.) Larra says:

"... ésta es la poesía romántica, objeto de una gran disputa que hay en el día en el Parnaso sobre si han de entrar en él o han de quedarse a la puerta estas señoras piezas desarregladas dichas del romanticismo."

He goes on to say that the French have invented this sort of drama, and pokes fun at the play under consideration. He was later more tolerant toward plays which really represented Romanticism, both French and Spanish, as readers of his dramatic criticisms will readily recall.²² Spain was ready for Romanticism by 1833. Before that newspapers, such as *El Europeo* of Barcelona, had espoused the new movement; Spaniards had become more familiar with their own mediaeval literature, quite largely through the efforts of the German consul at Cadiz, Böhl von Faber; historical and melodramatic novels and plays had become familiar; the young literary men who had managed to remain in Spain discussed the new ideas at the *Café del Príncipe* (the group called *El Parnasillo*, in the early 'Thirties); and the liberals who were in political exile were enabled to return after the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, bringing with them the Romantic doctrines which they had absorbed in England and France.

Three of the earlier Romantic plays of Spain were written

²¹ Cotarelo, *Postfíguro*, Vol. 1, pp. 27 ff.

²² V. his reviews of Teresa, *El trovador*, Catalina Howard, Aben-Humeya, Antony, Hernani, Margarita de Borgoña, Los amantes de Teruel, La conjuración de Venecia, etc.

some years before they actually reached the Madrid stage. Martínez de la Rosa's *La révolte des Maures sous Philippe II* was presented at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin (with indifferent success) in 1830; its Spanish version did not appear in Madrid until 1836. The same author's *Conjuración de Venecia* was written in Paris in 1830 and shown in Madrid in 1834; it really marks the beginning of the Romantic drama in Spain. The Duke of Rivas' *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino*, written all in prose in 1831, was re-written in mingled prose and verse and presented in 1835. It has ever since represented to us Spanish Romanticism in its wildest and most unrestrained moods. The same year saw Pacheco's *Alfredo* and the translation of Victor Hugo's *Lucrèce Borgia*. García Gutiérrez's *El trovador*, in 1836, was the first Romantic play to win a real triumph; the author had to appear before the audience, the first time such a distinction had been conferred on a playwright in Spain.²³ *Aben-Humeya*, mentioned above by its French title, was shown in 1836, which year also saw the presentation of Hugo's *Hernani*, and Dumas' *Antony*, *Catherine Howard*, *Thérèse* and *La Tour de Nesle*. Hartzenbusch's *Los Amantes de Teruel* was the conspicuous success of the following year; Romanticism had now definitely won its place on the Spanish stage.

We have been endeavoring to examine briefly the plays which held the stage in Madrid at the dawn of Romanticism. In so doing, we have seen certain varieties of plays which prepared the way for the new movement, notably the Siglo de Oro dramas and the melodramas imported from France. The Neo-classic tragedy, the Moratinian comedy, the "comedia de magia" and the plays of Scribe had little or no connection with Romanticism. We have observed also that the comedy of magic, Scribe's dramatic productions and the comedy in the style of Bretón de los Herreros continued steadily even after Romanticism had become dominant.

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²³ Ferrer del Río, *Galería de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1846, p. 257.

A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR BRANCH I OF THE ROMAN DE RENART

In his masterly work of 1914 (*Le Roman de Renart*, Paris, 574 pp.) Lucien Foulet solved to the satisfaction of nearly every one concerned the problems of origin for the *Roman de Renart*. He assured us that "les trouvères de Renard ont puisé au latin médiéval. Ce ne sont pas les fables de Phèdre qui leur ont servi de modèles, mais le *Romulus* en prose, peut-être l'*Ecbasis*, certainement et surtout l'*Ysengrimus*."¹ Elsewhere he adds as sources the *Disciplina Clericalis* and possibly the fables of Marie de France.² Pierre de Saint-Cloud, the founder of the *Roman de Renart*, a reader of Marie, was doubtless delighted at his perusal of the *Ysengrimus*. He conceived the idea of putting this material into the vulgar tongue.³ To heighten the humor of his subject he copied the feudal procedure of his time;⁴ and then, with hesitation, Foulet notes that there is some of the *Tristan* in the oldest branch (Branch II). Is the feudal parody not derived from this?⁵ The *Ecbasis Captivi* (Xth cent.) was the inspiration for Nivard's *Ysengrimus* (1152) as well as for some of Marie's original—the pseudo-Alfred.⁶ The author of the *Ecbasis Captivi*, in turn, must have been inspired by certain passages in the Bible, notably Matthew VII, 15. This is a family tree of the *Roman de Renart* from that common origin of much that is great in literature. Is there a possibility of any additional clerical sources?

In the Latin life of Ciaran, Bishop of Saigir, an Irish saint of the Vth century,⁷ there appears an episode which the editor, Charles Plummer, considers "one of the most delightful things in

¹ *Op. cit. supra*, 567.

² *Op. cit.*, 536.

³ *Op. cit.*, 143-144.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 179.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 550-551.

⁷ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Vol. I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910.

hagiological literature." ⁸ I can do no better than to reproduce this, word for word, as it is of no great length:

"Ipse enim aper statim in conspectu viri Dei virgas et fenum ad materiam cellule construende dentibus suis fortiter abscidit. Nemo enim cum sancto Dei adhuc ibi erat; quia solus a discipulis suis ad illum heremum evasit. Deinde alia animalia de cubilibus heremi ad sanctum Kyaranum venerunt, id est vulpis, et broccus, et lupus, et cerva; et manserunt mitissima apud eum. Obediebant enim secundum iussionem sancti viri in omnibus quasi monachi.

"Alia quoque die vulpis, qui erat callidior et dolosior ceteris animalibus, fycones abbatis sui, sancti id est Kyarani, furatus est, et deserens propositum suum, duxit ad pristinum habitaculum suum in heremo, volens illas ibi commedere. Hoc sciens sanctus pater Kyaranus alium monachum vel discipulum, id est broccum,^{8a} post vulpem in heremum misit, ut fratrem ad locum suum reduceret. Broccus autem, cum esset peritus in silvis, ad verbum senioris sui ilico obediens perrexit, et recto itinere ad speluncam fratris vulpis pervenit. Et inveniens eum volentem ficones sui domini commedere, duas aures eius et caudam abscidit, et pilos eius carpsit, et coegit eum secum venire ad monasterium suum, ut ageret ibi penitentiam pro furto suo. Et vulpis necessitate compulsus, simul et broccus, cum sanis ficonibus hora nona ad cellam suam ad sanctum Kyaranum venerunt. Et ait vir sanctus ad vulpem: 'Quare hoc malum fecisti, frater, quod non decet monachos agere? Ecce aqua nostra dulcis est et communis, et cibus similiter omnibus partitur. Et si voluisses commedere carnem pro natura, Deus omnipotens de corticibus arborum pro nobis tibi fecisset.' Tunc vulpis, petens indulgentiam, ieiunando egit penitentiam, et non comedit donec sibi a sancto viro iussum est. Deinde familiaris cum ceteris mansit." ⁹

Let it be noted that the animals who were with the saint were the fox, the badger, the wolf, and the deer (here a doe). The fox, having committed a misdemeanor, flees to his own lair. The badger is sent by their lord to bring him back. The fox returns, after receiving physical violence from the messenger sent to arrest him, and seeks to do penance.

⁸ *Ibid.*, cxli.

^{8a} *broccus* equals *taxo*, from the O.Ir. *brocc*, "a badger"; Welsh and Cornish *broch*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

Now I have come to the main question. Is there any resemblance between this brief episode and a portion of Branch I of the *Roman de Renart*? After the burial of Dame Copee (the hen), Renard's victim,

"Quant li deuls fu un poi laissie
Et il fu del tot abessiez,
'Emperere' font li baron,
'Qar nos vengies de cel laron
Qui tantes guiches nos a fetes
Et qui tantes pes a enfretes.'" ¹⁰

The Emperor consents and sends first Brun, the bear, then Tybert, the cat, to summon the criminal to court. They are both badly hurt through the fox's machinations.

"Sire Grinbert," says Noble, the Emperor, to the badger,

"Ales donc tost, sel m'amenes,
Gardes sans lui que ne venes.'" ¹¹

The frightened messenger makes his way to Renard's lair and summons him in the name of the Emperor to appear in court. Renard laments,

"'Por deu' fet il, 'Grinbert, merci!
Conseillez cest dolant chaitif!
Molt he l'ore que je tant vif,
Quant je serai demain pendus.
Qar fusse je moignez rendus
A Clugni ou a Cleresvax!
Mes je conois tant moines fax
Que je croi q'issir m'en conviegne.'" ¹²

Renard confesses his sins to the badger and after some delay they finally arrive at Noble's court.

"'Renart, Renart' dist l'enperere,
.
.
.
Por quoi estes tant baretere?
Bien saves parler et plaidier:
Mes ce que vaut? ce n'a mestier.'" ¹³

¹⁰ Ed. Ernest Martin, Strasbourg, 1882, v. 433 ff. (p. 13).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, v. 931 ff.

¹² V. 1008.

¹³ V. 1279, 1284 ff.

The court all accuse him, and he sees the gallows being set up.

"Quant il vit les forces drece,
Lors n'ot en lui que corocier,
Et dit au roi 'baux gentix sire,
Qar me lessies un petit dire?
Vos m'avez fet lier et prendre,
Or me voles sanz forfeit pendre.

.
Or voil venir a repentance
El non de seinte penitance
Voeil la crois prendre por aler
La merci deu outre la mer.'" ¹⁴

His request is granted and he leaves as a pilgrim only to fail in his promise. The story then takes on a new lease of life and Renard is besieged in his stronghold.

The similarities between these two narratives will be easily apparent to the reader. Aside from a complete difference in tone and setting, as well as embellishments and additional details, there are two differences to be noted: in the one the fox receives physical mistreatment; in the other it is given to the innocent messengers. Secondly, the fox of the saint's life really repents; in the *Renart* the penance is all a sham. Was a version of this story, told in the Latin life of Ciaran of Saigir, known to the composer of Branch I of the *Roman de Renart*?

This life of Saint Ciaran originally formed a part of three great cyclic collections of Latin lives of Irish Saints, the only three of these collections which are known to us at the present day. They are:

1. Codex Salmanticensis, no. 7672-4 of the Royal Library at Brussels; formerly belonging to the Irish College at Salamanca.

2. Two sister MSS.,

V. 3. 4 of Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, date, c. 1400.
and

E. 3. 11 of the Trinity College Library, Dublin, also c. 1400.

3. Rawlinson Bodleian 485, dating, possibly in first half of the 13th cent.

and Rawlinson Bodleian 505, first half of the 14th cent.

¹⁴ V. 1379 ff.

The version printed by Plummer, and which we have copied above, is after the MS. of the Primate Marsh Library.¹⁵

As far as I can ascertain Plummer does not date this life of Ciaran, but it was certainly earlier than the *Ysengrimus*, probably by a great deal. In demonstrating how the legends of the Christian saints in Ireland carried on a considerable portion of the earlier heathen folklore and mythology, Plummer distinguishes between those legends that were once attached to pagan water deities and those belonging to the deities of the sun. He says,

"It has already been noticed in Part II that in the case of several saints the solar character is combined, as in the case of the Greek Apollo, with that of a patron of animals, domestic or wild. Of the latter character the most charming instance is Ciaran of Saigir with his woodland monks, brother Fox and the rest."¹⁶

If this is, indeed, a continuation of pagan folklore, the Life must certainly go back to early Christian times.

As further evidence for the origin of animal episodes in these Irish saints' Lives, proceeding from mythology, Plummer goes on to say that the wolf was a sacred animal in Ireland, associated with the sun cult.¹⁷ Further, "Stags plough or draw a cart or chariot; they carry the saint's books, and other burdens, or allow their horns to be used as book rests." The saints had tame otters, birds, and foxes. "Wild animals would gather around the hermit saints as they have done round many an Indian ascetic in earlier and later times."¹⁸ Probably these legends were retained to show "the more faithfully man obeys the Creator, the more he will retain his lost empire over the creature." I have mentioned this theory of origin, as discussed by Plummer, to make it perfectly clear that these animal legends in the Irish hagiographic literature are not to be traced to the *Roman de Renart* or to its immediate forerunners such as the *Ysengrimus* and the *Ecbasis Captivi*.

Next to be considered is how such an animal legend could

¹⁵ See Plummer's MS. Introduction.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, cxli.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, cxliii.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, cxlvi.

make its way from an Irish saint's Life to twelfth century France. Need we mention the *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz*, or the Voyage of Saint Brandan? A *Vita Sancti Brendani* is found in the same MSS. as the life of Ciaran. To be sure this *Vita* is based also upon the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, and a lost *Vita*, and was not necessarily known to the Anglo-Norman poet who followed the original *Navigatio*. The spread of Irish material to the mainland certainly began with that ecclesiastical invasion described by Zimmer in his *Nennius Vindictus*.¹⁹ But its chosen path in the later centuries must have been through the British Celts, the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Bretons. St. Ciaran in British dress was St. Piranus, of whom there exists a reduced and garbled life in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*. The life of St. Ciaran, being in Latin, could have been known directly to a continental cleric of the XIIIth century. To be sure it was also current in Irish: viz., the Stowe MS. (R. I. A.), ix, 222 ff., and elsewhere.²⁰ Plummer assures us that a similar version of this animal story is in the Anglo-Saxon life of St. Neot.²¹ I have had no chance to investigate this.

Just what has been our purpose in this present paper? These animal stories in the Irish hagiographic legends, left-overs from the nature cult of pagan days, were certainly capable of existing beside and independent of the *Roman de Renart* and its sources; but the moment we can lay our hands on a hagiographic legend which contains the possible primitive elements of an early branch of the *Renart*, just then does it become possible that the author of the second had read and was parodying the first. This was much more likely for one of the earlier branches, as Foulet has shown their dependence partly upon written sources. There are other instances of the fox appearing in his character as a rogue: in the lives of Saints Moling, Coemgenus, and Fintanus.

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¹⁹ Berlin, 1893.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, lii.

²¹ *Life and Times of Alfred*, 55.

REVIEWS

Fortunat Strowski, *Histoire des Lettres. Deuxième volume (De Ronsard à nos jours)*. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation française*, Vol. XIII, 614 pp. Paris, Société de l'histoire nationale, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., [1923].

The highest praise for the externals of this magnificent quarto is to call it worthy of the preceding volumes in M. Hanotaux's important series. The paper and letterpress are beyond praise and the small engravings on the page, taken for the most part from contemporary pictures and engravings well chosen and well reproduced, are truly illustrative of the matter to which they refer. To these M. Ripart, who reproduced them, has added originals of his own and charms the reader with a Parisian scene or view at the head of each chapter. The full-page coloured illustrations by Marcel Vicaire—five portraits reproduced from originals and seven scenes—enliven the volume with brilliant colour. The *scenes* suffer from the unreality attaching to all such attempts, but they have nevertheless a charm of their own.

Mr. Strowski begins his difficult task with a very lovely description of mediaeval France as diverse in tradition, law and language as a brilliant flowered carpet: "L'usage du latin et l'enseignement religieux (et aussi, ne l'oublions pas, le nom et l'image de la 'douce France') étaient les seuls éléments d'uniformité dans cette inépuisable polychromie." Literature there was indeed in plenty, but no literature to feed the mind and imagination of the whole country,—nothing that could be called national. One important reason for this was the indifference of the Court, at that time "un ministère fort affairé, non pas un centre éclatant de la vie mondaine, d'art et de beauté." It was François I^{er} who changed all that, who, by decrees aiming at other objects, unified the language and who so dazzled his country that "quand il mourut, il n'y avait plus en France, pour éblouir les yeux et pour attirer les poètes, que la cour! Tout le monde voulut avoir le goût de la cour, qui devint celui de la France!"

Nevertheless, Mr. Strowski does not place the beginning of the literary Renaissance in the reign of François with Marot, Calvin, Rabelais, but rather at the middle of the century, when the religious dissensions which involved the passions of men in matters beyond mere daily concern, when the discoveries of adventure and of science and, finally, when the humanism of which Erasmus was the protagonist, had had time to make their influence felt.

Mr. Strowski has accomplished, almost with perfection, the double task that confronts the historian of literature. He has mapped out the great currents of thought and fashion from which those of letters derive, and he acquaints his readers with the authors of that literature in a series of brilliant portraits. He traces, in their trend towards full expressiveness, Renaissance poetry, in its first fine careless rapture preparing the way for Ronsard, and the prose of practical "savants," controversialists religious or political, translators and memoir-writers, which led up to the finished language of Montaigne. He marks the change wrought in prose literature after the latter's epoch-making contribution and the rise of true prose, heritage of those *Classiques* who were to restore and organize national thought after the troubles of the League. Du Vair, St. François de Sales, d'Urfé and Henri IV were

near enough to the Renaissance to temper nationalism with humane classicism. Mr. Strowski explains the singularity of including Henri IV among the *Classiques* by pointing out that he represents France abandoning anarchy for peace: "Sans lui, point d'ordre et de raison dans le gouvernement. Sans lui, malgré Du Vair, malgré Montaigne et malgré Ronsard, il n'y aurait pas eu de pensée saine, c'est-à-dire de littérature classique."

Poetry, when peace was once established, was itself, with Malherbe, the poet of order, established in an orderly tradition with a long life before it. Its technique was exacting, intellectual, artificial; and it lacked the fecundity which had marked the Renaissance: "Elle accepte les exigences sévères d'un rythme toujours plein et régulier. Elle chante non les émotions particulières, mais les vérités générales ou les grands élans de tout le pays, et quand elle consent à exprimer des sentiments individuels, elle les ennoblit par un magnifique vêtement pris à la mythologie. Ou bien encore elle s'attache à la réalité, à la peinture vraie des choses, des types et de l'homme. Elle ne se modifiera donc plus guère pendant cent ou deux ans. Elle se développera seulement."

Mr. Strowski points out that it was the lack of response to art of Louis XIII and the too authoritative patronage of it by his great minister which checked the free flow of a literature whose glittering star was Descartes. This literature, if it could not be said to flourish under Richelieu, was nursed by the salons and also by the Academy—transformed by Richelieu's powerful hand from a friendly club into an aweful institution.

If the philosophy of the early XVIIth century could boast of Descartes, Corneille, his counterpart in thought, informed the classic drama with the same view of mankind and of "virtue." The extraordinary crystallization of theory and fashion about that *genre* is treated with noteworthy skill. Mr. Strowski gives due value also to the Port Royalist movement and the genius of Pascal. He pictures vividly the period of classic perfection that opened with the accession to actual power of Louis XIV. Its galaxy of great names led by that of Racine, its strange outgrowths of preciosity and its struggle against the new taste for modernity introduced by Perrault, are illumined for the reader, and he feels too the chill towards the close of that great century. He is guided through the reign of Louis XV, when letters took on an importance beyond that of politics or of social customs, when "la bataille de l'avenir ne se livre que dans la sphère des idées et par les livres," and he is enlightened on the disintegration of systems that began with St. Evremond and led, through the scepticism of Voltaire and of the Encyclopedists, to the Revolution. His interest is sure to be aroused and held by Mr. Strowski's account of the new literature that came slowly into the ascendant after the Revolution when "tout était détruit sauf les très vieilles choses indestructibles," when the world of thought was reconstructed on the plan of the Encyclopedists, and, in the end, the de Maîtres, Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand arrived. The Romantic movement brings to Mr. Strowski's pen a fine definition of Romance. Its elements are liberation, and violent and new expression which yet from the first scrupulously respected the French language and form. It emphasizes the "culte du moi" although "le moi en effet ne triomphe pas uniquement par le Je." It is "un magnifique appel à la vie et aux puissances de la vie" which puts poetry above all else. Mr. Strowski does justice, as he proceeds, to the Utopists, derived from the Romantic movement, to its chiefs Sand and Balzac, to the Realists with Sainte-Beuve and Renan and Flaubert, to the Parnassians beginning with Leconte de Lisle, to Théodore de Banville and the other Independents, and finally to the less clearly classified contemporary stream.

The biographies and criticisms are, as a whole, admirable. No writer of the least importance is omitted. The notices of the lesser men are particularly sculptural and vivid. They might be modelled on Aristotle's brief descriptions of the *Iphigenia* and the *Odyssey*. In fact Mr. Strowski's general approach to each writer indicates that the *Poetics* have become his "chair et os"—such is the firmness of the outline and the subordination of the elements of lesser importance in each story.

It might have been expected that the sixteenth century would have more interest than other periods for Mr. Strowski, and therefore, under his hand, for the reader. But this is not the case. One may admire without reserve the full, learned, critically balanced treatment of Montaigne, only to find it matched, if not excelled, by the relief and the suggestiveness of the essays on Racine and Molière and the slighter "fairy tale" of Fénelon's life and work. Indeed the palm belongs perhaps to Mr. Strowski's treatment of the great classic century, its abundance, its brilliance, its method, and the decline of its pure classic genius under the frigid hand of Mme de Maintenon. The force of the description of this decline throws into vivid relief the author's account of Fénelon, that "tidal wave" coming from afar and momentarily reviving the flow of genius.

Nearly all the greater portraits flash out something like this. Some fresh spark of thought and expression illumines even subjects endlessly worked over and pondered by Mr. Strowski's predecessors. That is perhaps the greatest value of the book. It provides the reader with a series of pleasant shocks. He is startled and he is convinced by such descriptions as that of Descartes "dans le courant d'un fleuve immense [où] son action se confond souvent avec celle de ses contemporains," completing in the region of pure thought "le grand travail de consolidation du bon sens français"; or of Corneille whose faults strike the eye, whose tricks and devices are as vulnerable as his bad taste, and yet before whom, in spite of all "toute louange s'arrête, comme insuffisante"; of Boileau publishing his *Satires* with no more systematic plan than to substitute contemporary and therefore good taste for antiquated bad taste and designing in his *Art Poétique* mere substitution of good sense for doctrine and theory; or of La Fontaine, devoid of any but the artistic conscience, with habits such that "il convient d'admirer et d'envier ce siècle qui sut, à travers de telles résistances, imposer à l'Académie un homme tel qu'était La Fontaine," and yet who was "le plus délicieux musicien de mots du dix-septième siècle et . . . l'éducateur de toute la jeunesse française." Racine, Mr. Strowski sees as the interpreter of that "mystérieuse impulsion, le flot sorti du fond inaccessible de l'âme humaine" which is not to be confounded with caprice, but, coming from afar and going far, utterly reveals the soul. Racine was concerned only with emotions "dans lesquelles il s'agit de retrouver la raison intérieure, la dialectique spontanée, toute l'individualité psychologique d'un être humain abandonné à l'aveugle et tumultueux élan de la sensibilité." The reader's curiosity will be teased by the comparison of Racine to Shakespeare, Racine to Corneille, Racine to Wagner. *King Lear* was treated by Shakespeare with a freedom of technique to which the subject compelled him; but Racine could express the madness of passion in tragedies "les plus régulières et les plus faciles qui soient" owing to "ce don de combinaison, le plus souple et le plus vivant que nous connaissons, et cette grâce, âme et beauté des choses vivantes qui président à la composition d'une tragédie racinienne." Racine manipulates with ease the rules which Corneille found so difficult, for "il les aurait appliquées spontanément; elles sont la conséquence nécessaire de sa façon de concevoir son art; unité d'action, de temps, de lieu, résultaient naturellement de ses procédés de construction." Racine and Wagner

both had the same conception of poetry as the expression of creative power in harmony and beauty; but Wagner needed music and scenery and legend combined to create the effect of a complete poetic whole which Racine contrived by the mere use of verse in a far simpler frame.

Mr. Strowski offers a rather dismaying interpretation of Bossuet's genius which "se plaît et se repose dans l'opinion générale, universelle, raisonnable," desiring to adopt truth as commonly received and making constant appeal to tradition and common sense. He does justice to Victor Hugo, who must be read entire by those desiring to appreciate the greatness and the contradictions of the nineteenth century, over which the writer threw the magnificent mantle of his sincerity and his language. He chooses a telling example in Musset's *Lorenzaccio* as proof that lyricism and poetry can bring to the theatre more beauty and emotion than realism, moralism or immoralism. Balzac, he points out, had a complete command of the French language, its older forms, its technical vocabularies, its popular proverbs, its various forms of slang. With it he created a solid and living world to which style merely held the torch. That light must enhance and display all the contours of life; otherwise it was of no value for Balzac. The same perspicacity shows us the effect upon French literature of the Russian realists and of Ibsen. That influence, "ressemblant à celle du vent qui soulève les vagues et les lance tumultueusement jusqu'à ce qu'elles se perdent au loin," disturbed the secular habits of French thought. "Ainsi s'explique le caractère désordonné et violent des grandes tourmentes morales de la société française depuis 1890 jusqu'à 1914."

This sort of freshness of view, this fundamental originality keeps the reader's attention at stretch. He looks to Mr. Strowski for the art that Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie attributes to poets: "an art of making us expect the magical phrase. And when it comes it casts its enchantment over the whole surrounding texture of language." The author's gift of phrase almost equals his gift of insight. The Revolution, he says, closed the doors of eloquence. The Terror listened to nothing. The Directoire was merely talkative, and soon Bonaparte induced complete silence. Skilful touches like this recur as in the picture of Mme Guyon, fat, ugly, prematurely aged, but possessed of springs, or rather torrents, to quench the most ardent thirst for the divine presence and inward peace. Who that has read the volume can forget the comparison of Diderot, that demi-Balzac, impressionable advocate of every cause, "sans argent, sans scrupules," to an unbridled stallion loose in a free field; or the brief sketch of the bride whom he adored hasting to become a bore without grace, wit or kindness? Again, we see Rousseau plain, with that genius which imposed upon the world two myths clothed with poetry and emotion, that of primitive humanity and that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Supported by his powerful dialectic these myths sufficed to give Rousseau a glamour as of another Christopher Columbus discovering worlds, fresher, freer and nearer to heaven. Sainte-Beuve, who espoused all doctrines one after another, "souffrait cruellement à chaque rupture." Renan was in old age "un peu bénisseur. Il bénissait sa vie, il bénissait son temps. D'ailleurs il n'écoutait réellement que lui." The style of Renan, who more than Chateaubriand was "l'enchanteur, le séducteur, l'endormeur," is "une marche légère et vive, une danse." "Un goût exquis dans le choix des mots," was his. The Parnassians formed the habit of composing perfect verses with the utmost difficulty.

In these portraits, Mr. Strowski enhances insight and phrase by many a telling incident. Fénelon, haunted in his last years by the charms of antique poetry but unlike Bossuet abandoning himself to its seduction, and d'Urfé, waiting twenty-four

years for a wife and then finding himself incapable of living with that violent and masterful woman surrounded day and night by her great hounds; Bossuet, striding about his room reciting word for word, after an interval of fifty-one years, his doctoral dissertation and repeating with the fervour of early zeal his doctor's oath: "Me integrum devoveo veritati;"—who can forget these things? Or who can be unmoved by the picture of Mme du Deffand longing vainly for the letter from the beloved and unresponsive Walpole which arrived only after her death, that of de Vigny's tender care of his invalid wife who could neither move nor speak, or that of Comte's ritual and ceremonial of grief for his, who died young? "Sunt lachrymae rerum," and Mr. Strowski makes us feel them in the picture of La Fontaine, frightening the little Racines at table with his taciturnity and untidiness, and yet able to write, within a few days of death, the most touching letter in the world: "O mon cher! mourir n'est rien; mais songes-tu que je vais comparaître devant Dieu? Tu sais comme j'ai vécu. Avant que tu reçoives ce billet, les portes de l'éternité seront peut-être ouvertes pour moi." Equally touching is the account of Lamartine's funeral, unattended in Paris by a single soul of those whom he had saved in '48, while at Mâcon the coffin was carried by the printers over hills and through woods and passed through attentive lines of workmen and peasants and weeping women who even kissed it in their grief. We see genius at work as we read of Flaubert's high-spirited zest for toil. After an enlightening journey to Tunis, he recommenced *Salammô* and, although he had previously laboured at it like a slave, he began it again with jests and laughter. We see genius at rest in Renan, seated on a sofa at a political reception, with rumpled head and hanging cheeks, hands on knees and lids veiling those eyes of a superman who has completed the circle of life and has no interest left, even in his own power.

It is a surprise to note the omission from this lively panorama of some striking incidents, like the noble behaviour of Condorcet's landlady entrusting his life to the honour of his fellow boarders, or the romantic scandals of Mme du Châtelet's death. Amid the riches of the book one or two evidences of thinness must also be admitted. Such is the passage giving an account of an autograph joint-letter of Pascal and his father. "De là on peut conclure," says Mr. Strowski, "que Pascal n'était pas une âme concentrée et triste, un savant malade, ennemi de la lumière et de la vie." But in very fact the reader is invited to these conclusions by the mere handwriting of Pascal with its great capitals and wide margins. He is not enlightened as to one word contributed to the epistle by Pascal. Again that Fénelon's story is a fairy story may be the best of reasons for omitting dates, but the lack of them carries unreality to a point that irritates the reader; and this defect appears elsewhere. The student interested in the relations for example of Fénelon and Bossuet, or of Rousseau and Voltaire, finds himself, without them, at a loss to reconstruct and compare.

It would be surprising indeed if Mr. Strowski's criticism were not as a whole judicious. It is. And yet he disappoints of the complete impartiality one expects in the critic. There is a slight trace of preferences perceptible throughout the volume. The reader divines, even if he is not told, that Mr. Strowski approaches Montaigne, Corneille, Pascal, Fénelon, Montesquieu, for example, with considerably more geniality than he approaches Molière, Bossuet, St. Evremond, Diderot, or Mme de Staël. He includes Marguerite de Navarre in a general slight on the story-tellers of the sixteenth century—an estimate that will seem less than judicious to those who remember the delicious freshness of the tales and philosophical interludes of the *Heptaméron*—those bright mirrors of the time and of its thoughts. Condorcet he

dismisses with a few cruel words, and, without any visible justification, concludes "les héritiers de sa doctrine la représentèrent plus noblement que lui"; and he treats Maupassant, though more kindly, hardly less curtly. To Voltaire Mr. Strowski does scant justice as a writer and still scantier as a man. Even the Voltairian style he finds "fatiguing in the end"; and the Calas and Sirven affairs, which brought out all Voltaire's passionate love of justice and led him to put it before personal safety, are damned with faint praise. To speak of Voltaire's "procédés habituels d'intrigue et de calomnie," to assert that he made "un véritable jeu de la conscience humaine et de la foi" is hardly justified as criticism. His philosophy Mr. Strowski believes to be less negative than mere hatred of Christianity and due to the sufferings which Voltaire thought were owing to "ce qu'il appelait" superstition or fanaticism. "Il devint mauvais et injuste à son tour. En réalité il détestait moins la religion qu'il n'aimait la vie moderne avec ses raffinements, sa facilité et sa douceur, . . . dont il était à demi privé et dont il ne goûtait que l'ombre." This is a poor philosophy to attribute to a man whose mind penetrated to the limits of human existence, who so hated sham and so loved justice as to make serious personal sacrifices, and who waged eternal war against intolerance.

One or two of Mr. Strowski's other criticisms are open to question. "Et dormitat bonus Homerus." To speak of the *Réveries du Promeneur Solitaire* as written in serenity and in a tranquil confidence in God is an astounding dictum, considering the persecution mania which distorts all the earlier pages of that work and never wholly disappears from it. To refer to Florian's *Fables* as "assez près de l'enfance, avec une morale bienveillante" is to interpret them strangely indeed. Moreover the whole book produces a little too much the effect of an account of French literature considered *in vacuo*. There are, it is true, references to the Spanish sources of Corneille, to English and German influences on the generation of Mme de Staël and of Lamartine, and to Russian and Scandinavian on our own, but the reader gets no impression of the stream of French literature as part of the European stream, flowing with it, in the main, in the same direction and under similar impulses. Yet that is the treatment one almost expects in this day and generation of the history of any literature, as of any nation.

The book suffers seriously from lack of an index. When all is said this is its chief defect, for it must be noted in conclusion that the defects of this able work are almost miraculously few. It is in every sense an epitome of four centuries of French writing, as each essay is a true epitome of the life and work of its subject. To write such a book postulates a mountain of erudition. To write it with grace and with insight makes it a magnificent contribution to the history of literature.

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C. RUUTZ-REES

Bernard Fay, *Panorama de la Littérature contemporaine*, Paris, Kra, 1925, 217 pp.

With an unerring sense of the actual and the interesting, Bernard Fay has chosen of late as the subject of his studies the two most passionating and discussed phases of French literature and history as seen from this side of the Atlantic: Franco-American Relations and the modernist movement in literature. As he states, this modernist art is one of the most captivating of international curiosities, striking response among the younger generations of all civilized countries from Tokio to Rio de Janeiro, from New York to Leningrad. The modern movements (their diversity

is so strongly marked that it seems best to use the word in the plural) are complex and contradictory. The several schools or tendencies that run in parallels or that make war upon one another proceed from very different attitudes of mind and esthetic preferences. Bernard Faÿ has succeeded in showing beyond these kaleidoscopic dissidences their fundamental unity and in presenting a clear picture of the genesis of the New Literature. The most outstanding quality of his bird's-eye view of Modernism is his gift of synthesis. He excels at marking in a few pages or even a few lines the most salient characteristics of the work of a poet or of the evolution of a period. He does not bring new documents; he does not take, strictly speaking, an original or a very personal point of view, but he condenses, he searches for the main significance of an author or a work without losing himself in a labyrinth of multitudinous details.

But his volume is not solely a historical survey: It is a manifesto, it is a confession of a certain way of feeling, of a certain set of esthetic preferences and prejudices. It gives us a history of modern French letters seen through a certain psychology, the psychology of those among us who forget Sully Prudhomme and the tearful François Coppée, who transcend Bourget and Anatole France,—to acclaim the more recondite art of Rimbaud, Mallarmé and Proust. Bernard Faÿ is the mouthpiece of that international group that discovers genius in Jean Cocteau and in the youthful work of Raymond Radiguet (pp. 211-212). In a word, he is mentally responsive to the rarer literary art of France, rather than to the abundant literature for "the family," the tired business man, the stenographers and the provincials. His preferences go to the upper layer of literature, to those authors and poets who have sometimes been called "authors for authors" and "poets for poets," to those who require from the side of the reader an important amount of mental collaboration. He prefers the Barrès of the *Culture du Moi*, André Gide, Paul Valéry, the stern Maurras, Rimbaud, Laforgue, Mallarmé and Proust to Bordeaux, France, and Mme. de Noailles. His point of view, though eclectic enough, is modernistic and aristocratic; his admirations are those of the "cultured European" and not in the least academic or bourgeois-conventional. He does not decry Rimbaud and Mallarmé as "unintelligible decadents" after the fashion of so many *Brunetist*s, but puts them in their true place as the great precursors of modern poetry. Proust and Valéry have each an entire chapter to themselves in a volume that surveys the whole of modern French literature in eighteen chapters. But Rostand and Co. have disappeared in the limbo of forgotten authors, caterers to popular success. This act of poetic justice is entirely after the heart of the modern group in France as well as in other countries; its opinions are mirrored in Faÿ's attitude.

Throughout the book one finds opinions with which every modernist will most heartily sympathize. Take, for example, the attack on the French Academy (a noble sport for more than a century!), because this venerable institution is to literary talent what marriage is to romantic love; because it protects, selects and crowns literature that can be used as an article for mass-consumption or for "better class" mediocrity. Bernard Faÿ conceives literature as the superior delectation of the well-endowed individual. Jules Laforgue (so unjustly mistreated by M. Lalou) comes in for his richly deserved share of recognition; Max Jacob and Blaise Cendrars are discussed far more sympathetically than, let us say, Anatole France. Yet, Bernard Faÿ's *Panorama* is not vociferously "avant-garde." He remains eclectic and intelligent even when dealing with authors who do not carry his suffrage. It can be said, no doubt, that he overestimates the value of the work of Raymond Radiguet,

but we are all moved by the piety which he shows for this unhappy poet, who died too young to give us a clear conception of his talent. Much of his work is unripe. That is a sad truth, but, notwithstanding our piety for this young poet, "beloved by the gods," we must not allow our judgment to be warped by our regret for the loss of so exceptional a talent. The most notable misunderstanding in the critical estimates of Bernard Faÿ seems to me his treatment of Anatole France. M. Faÿ says (p. 104): "M. France, par un destin étrange et rare, semble avoir eu le privilège de passer à côté des gens et des problèmes sans les comprendre, sans les respecter et sans qu'ils osent se plaindre. Il attaqua cruellement les Symbolistes et fut invité par eux à partager leur triomphe de 1891, ce qu'il accepta avec bonne grace; il dénonça Zola comme fangeux, puis jeta des fleurs sur sa tombe et fut porté en triomphe par ce qui restait du Naturalisme." But, if both the Symbolists and the Naturalists honored him in this way, notwithstanding the differences of opinion between them, was it not exactly because they knew and understood his deep sincerity? Instead of lacking comprehension and sympathy, he understood, for instance, Zola so well that, while confessing his lack of admiration for *La Bête Humaine*, he could honor in him the author of *Le Rêve* and the fighter for Justice! This, no doubt, was the significance of his gesture at the grave of a dead colleague: He acclaimed in him what was high and noble, notwithstanding the deep divergency of opinions and esthetics between them. And it was exactly for this reason, because Anatole France could see, feel and understand both sides of an author or of a literary movement, that even those he criticized acclaimed him. . . . "Jamais il ne s'est intéressé à l'effort littéraire de ceux qui cherchaient et inventaient, jamais il n'a pris la peine de les comprendre. Les jeunes ne lui doivent rien que quelques moqueries," M. Faÿ goes on. But we may well ask by which rule the esthetic value and the significance of any author is measured according to the amount of sympathy he spent on the younger generations of his time? No one can force an author to jump into the latest boat to leave for the ultimate dim Thule of a new esthetics, no one can force him to join or to praise the successive "new generations" which follow one another, since so many decades, like the wooden horses on a merry-go-round. After all, the ironic smile of Anatole France meant no real lack of understanding. He smiled because he understood too well, because he perceived the limitations of *Symbolisme* and *Dadaïsme* and *Expressionisme*, not to mention a full dozen of other *Isms*, which have claimed of late to bring us the latest, the newest and the most perfect of modern art. We have been so abundantly blessed with Futurism and Simultaneism and Instrumentism, etc., that we may well ask whether those who have acclaimed every new innovation have been the most useful to the "younger generation" of France.

M. Faÿ reproaches Anatole France for lacking "ideas." "Les Idées lui importent peu; il croit aux sentiments. Encore sont-ce des impulsions très rudimentaires que celles auxquelles il s'abandonne." In a measure this reproach is justified. But M. Faÿ devotes a whole chapter to Proust, and it is obvious that Proust goes much further in his quest for rare and refined sensations than Anatole France ever went. He feasts his senses with even a greater refinement and virtuosity. If the dilettantism of Anatole France is weak-spined and sensuous, Proust has gone much further in the very direction which M. Faÿ anathematizes. . . . But the detailed discussion of such opinions remains useless. They are justified as the utterance of a certain intellectual temperament, inimical to France's.

M. Faÿ's book merits all the attention it has received. It is a remarkably able volume of an academic critic who has the courage of defending an unacademic point

of view. It is consoling to see that it does not predict, as so many critics have done for decades, the imminent return of French letters to Classicism, but goes out to battle for a better understanding of the important phenomena of modernistic literature. In that attempt lies its principal value. With great lucidity and an untiring comprehension of the complex forms of the new poetry in all its diversity, M. Fay has reduced to a logical unity and a continuous development all the various attempts at "expressing the modern soul" in French letters. Instead of considering modern literature as that famous orchestra of the King of Siam in which every musician plays according to his own inspiration and without paying attention to the Score, he has shown that modern art obeys deep-seated, unavoidable impulses and illuminates the war-torn souls of the new generation with its nihilistic despair and its undying romantic hopes.

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Les Sources et le développement du rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance (1533-1601), par Henri Busson. Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1922, xvii + 685 pp.

M. Busson's work adds one more volume to the growing list of major contributions to the history of sixteenth century thought. Excellent work has been done in various other aspects of the subject such as Pre-Reformation thought, Stoicism, Humanism, Platonism, but hitherto no real attempt has been made to define the origins and content of "libertinism" in this period or to distinguish the varieties of its different manifestations. The attacks of Calvin¹ and the statements of Garasse² have been accepted as general guides without further definition in regard to a phenomenon which some familiarity with this century would have shown to be as profound as it was pervasive. On the other hand because Garasse called Charron "le patriarche des forts," the latter has been accepted as the father of "libertinism,"³ and attention fixed upon the stream at its full flood rather than at its source. This is what makes the book of Charbonnel⁴ misleading in its title and disappointing in its performance. He begins where he should have left off so far as the sixteenth century is concerned. Now Garasse gives the necessary indications when he draws up what he calls the "Sceptic's Library" and points out that the sceptic drew his ideas from Pomponazzi, Machiavelli, Cardan, and others. Strowski calls this an "imaginary library" on the ground that "some of the books are not to be found and others are unreadable," whence the erroneous conclusion that in the matter of sixteenth century "libertinism" the influence of Italy is unimportant. Abel Lefranc and Henri Hauser pointed out long ago that the diffusion of this spirit took place between 1530 and 1540. Charbonnel himself writes:⁵ "Pour que tant d'auteurs de mémoires, de pamphlets ou de graves traités aient estimé nécessaire de s'y arrêter plus ou moins longtemps, il faut donc supposer que la pénétration des idées d'un Pomponazzi, d'un Machiavel ou d'un Bruno dans les pays voisins les avait réellement frappés." Yet he leaves to others the examination of this suggestion. M. Busson has shown how fertile a lead Garasse had given and proves conclusively that Italian influence, especially that of

¹ *Contre la secte . . . des libertins, 1545; Traité des Scandales, 1550.*

² *Doctrine curieuse, 1623.*

³ Strowski, *Pascal et son temps, 1907.*

⁴ *La Pensée italienne au XVI^e siècle et le courant libertin, 1919.*

⁵ *Op. cit., p. 12.*

Padua, is of fundamental importance in the development of sixteenth century scepticism, and that "the breviary of the sceptics" is not *La Sagesse* of Charron at the close of the century but the works of Pomponazzi and his followers two generations earlier.

Within the terms of the investigation undertaken, namely the development of the attack upon the Christian interpretation of life and its evidences in literature, M. Busson has no difficulty in proving the preponderant importance of the School of Padua in the origins of the movement and the uninterrupted vitality throughout the century of the teachings of Pomponazzi and his followers, particularly of Vicomercato and Cardan. The two chapters on "Les Français en Italie," with their parallel "Les Italiens en France," are of the greatest interest, bringing together as they do a quantity of dispersed material and massing the attack. Striking as these two chapters are, M. Busson's argument could only have gained in cumulative force as well as in picturesqueness if as a setting for "Authors" and "Professors" some space had been given to what was so much deplored by Budé and others, namely the growing passion of Frenchmen for Italy and Italian things, especially after the arrival in France of Catherine de Médicis as the wife of the future Henry II, a fascination that continued during the reigns of her three sons.

It is M. Busson's business to throw into as great relief as possible the Italian sources of this movement, for thence comes the great impetus which hastens the development of philosophic and theological rationalism with such rapidity after 1530 that it becomes a pervasive social phenomenon after 1542. Humanism in France, according to the opinion of the author, contributed little to the growth of this type of rationalism. Therefore his chapters on "Quelques sources antiques" and "Rationalisme d'origine française" are slight, although in the latter he has some interesting things to say about an unpublished but significant manuscript of Bouchard, inadequately treated by Haag. It is unfortunate, however, that the movement of French thought between 1515 and 1530 should have been neglected. The whole effort of Lefèvre was to reweave the eternally unravelling garment of science and faith which had been so violently rent by the rationalistic movement of his generation. But on the other hand, both the rationalizing tendencies of Lefèvre himself and the theological libertinism of some of his followers aroused the fiercest resentment in Budé.

This failure on the part of M. Busson to bring into the general estimate the survival of the philosophical and theological conflicts of the fifteenth century combined with the demoralizing effects of the Lefèvre-Luther agitation, and his wholehearted acceptance of the conventional and romantic judgments concerning Rabelais and Des Périers spoils somewhat the proportions of the first part of the book and vitiates his interpretation of Marguerite de Navarre, Rabelais and Des Périers. Humanistic rationalism with its taste for Lucian, Lucretius, Cicero and Pliny, also deplored by Budé, are largely sufficient, along with Rabelais' cowl, to explain the early Rabelais as well as Des Périers. For this reason we must prefer the interpretations of Gilson⁶ and Plattard⁷ for Rabelais and of Delaruelle for Des Périers⁸ to those of their predecessors, upon whom M. Busson relies. Nor do we find here a solution of the strange enigma that was Marguerite de Navarre. Marguerite is a mirror in which is reflected the image of every movement of her time. Now a Platonist, now a Protestant, now a Catholic, she is for M. Busson one of the "libertins spirituels," which is as inadequate an account as the others.

⁶ *Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine*, 1924-5.

⁷ *L'Adolescence de Rabelais en Poitou*, 1923.

⁸ *Revue d'Hist. Litt.*, Jan.-Mars, 1925.

These reservations do not at all impair the arguments for the penetration and spread of the influence of Padua after 1533 which are so solidly developed and fully documented in these vivid pages. Long vanished figures live again as the light is thrown upon their work and influence or as the eternal antinomy of science and faith reveals itself: Vicomercato and determinism, Fernel and Alexandrianism, Talon and Pyrrhonism, the eternal Plato vs. the eternal Aristotle.

For the second part of the book we have nothing but praise. Here is examined the diffusion through the literature of the French Renaissance of the doctrines of the Paduan philosophy giving substance to poetry and prose in a conflict that does not end with the century. It is extremely illuminating to discover Ronsard as a philosopher and disciple of Cardan, Pontus de Tyard as an Euhemerist, Montaigne completing the circle of scepticism to remain, like the Paduans, a champion of faith in its separation from reason, Bodin as less sceptical than most of the humanists. La Noue, Bras-de-Fer, fights the epicureans with the pen as he had fought papacy with the sword. Du Plessis-Mornay, the Protestant, from his point of view "justifies the ways of God to man" as does Charron the Catholic from his. Sadoletto takes his place in relation to the history of ideas, Calvin his, Postel his, Tahureau and Boiastuau theirs. With infinite skill M. Busson follows through major and minor authors of the Renaissance the conflicting ideas of one of the most complicated periods of modern thought from Ronsard to Du Bartas and fills in a very conspicuous gap in our knowledge of the century.

There are a few irritating faults of printing that should be noted. M. Busson writes Pomponazzi, Pomponace, Pomponatius indiscriminately; all three forms occur frequently side by side on the same page. Lecky's *Rise and Influence of Rationalism*, correctly printed in the Bibliography, appears almost invariably in the footnotes as *Rising and Influence*. Buchanan, correctly spelled in the Bibliography, is spelled always in the text Buchanam. There are also a number of minor misprints, especially numerous in the middle of the book. There is a footnote on page 610 in which it is stated that Haag is wrong in giving 1584 instead of 1583 as the date of *Les Appréhensions spirituelles*. An edition with a 1584 title-page certainly exists. M. Busson makes no mention of Dampmartin's *De la connaissance et merveilles du monde et de l'homme* (1585) which is a most interesting evidence of the currency in the circle of Henry III of the doctrines that had been developed in the home of the study of the natural sciences, the University of Padua.

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Poesía Juglaresca y Juglares. Aspectos de la Historia literaria y cultural de España.

By R. Menéndez Pidal. viii + 488 pp. Madrid, 1924.

The author of *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, *Gramática histórica española*, *Cantar de mio Cid*, *El Rey Rodrigo en la literatura*, and many other epoch-making studies in the history of Romance philology again must receive the felicitations and thanks of Hispanic scholars. *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* is the fruit of many years of study and research, a work that has been probably in the making since our distinguished colleague began his critical study of Spanish epic poetry. It is a companion volume to the history of epic origins and the development of epic poetry in Spain, and is at the same time an introduction to the history of Spanish civilization and culture in the tenth to fifteenth centuries and to the history of the wanderings of the *juglares* in western Europe. However, it is more than that. Menéndez Pidal

has now written a work of inestimable value to the history of the society of the tenth to fifteenth centuries from the viewpoint of popular amusements in the poetic and musical arts. For Spain the materials presented and discussed are most abundant. With his great talent, fine critical judgment and prodigious learning our author has succeeded in presenting in a clear and attractive way many diverse and complicated problems that overlap into the fields of sociology, folk-lore, the history of epic poetry, Spanish balladry, versification, the wanderings of the Provençal jongleurs and troubadours, music, and literary influences, and has been able to unite the whole into what the title of the book very properly defines, a history of Spanish juglaresque poetry and of the *juglares* themselves.

Many indeed are the various special problems that Menéndez Pidal treats. Some of them, perhaps those that interest us most, such as the history of the old Spanish *cantares de gesta*, the origin of the old *romances*, the anonymity of these, their age, etc., the French influence on the Spanish epics, the problems of versification, etc., had been discussed before by the author in his various articles in the *Revista de Filología Española*, in his *Romancero español*, and *L'Épopée castillane*. We are agreeably surprised to note that in cases where some of us were not fully convinced in favor of the author's theories our doubts now disappear completely. The skeptics have now to face new arguments and proofs. The *Prélude* of the year 1912, and the three hundred page volume of the year 1920, *El Cantar de Mio Cid y la Epopeya castellana*, both of which attempt to explain the origins of the old Spanish ballads and to refute the theories of Menéndez Pidal, are childish prattle compared with the conclusions of *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*.

The book is divided into four important parts: "I. Los juglares en general; II. Noticia general de los juglares en España, especialmente de los cantores de lírica cortesana; III. Los juglares de poesía narrativa; IV. Invención y tradición juglarescas."

The following observations suggested by a careful reading of this epoch-making work give only an imperfect account of the numerous problems treated. If in some cases we have dared to suggest a conclusion that may seem to be somewhat at variance with those of the author, it may be perhaps ascribed to the fact that in some problems he has not given us definite opinions but has preferred to leave the question open.

The story of the development of the institutions of the *juglar* and the *trovador*, and the various classes of each, together with their accompanying assistants and co-workers, the *juglaresas*, *soldaderas*, etc., reads like a medieval pageant. The life of the nobles, princes and kings of the middle ages in the presence of the jongleurs and troubadours is vividly presented. The growth of the institution of *juglaría* is clearly understood after reading parts I and II of the book. It is easy to see how the work of Juan Ruiz may be called, as Menéndez Pidal says, "el monumento más grande que la poesía juglaresca, no épica, produjo en la Edad Media" (p. 271). The author discusses in a most admirable and clear manner the problem of the relation between the really popular poetry and song, the jongleur, jongleur-troubadour, troubadour, troubadour-jongleur, and the learned poetry, and shows that a sharp division did not exist. Juan Ruiz, whom the author regards as the triumphant representative of juglaresque poetry in the fourteenth century, was a *juglar* and a *trovador*, and composed *cantares*, *decires*, *serranas*, etc., for all classes, *moros*, *judías*, *cantaderas*, *ciegos*, *escolares*, etc. A century before, observes Menéndez Pidal, Berceo calls himself "juglar de santo Domingo" and "trovador de la Virgen."

The documentary evidence that Menéndez Pidal brings forth to show how *la juglaría* was during the tenth to fifteenth centuries a great leveler of classes and races is most interesting. There was evidently none of the intense racial and religious hatred that some historians would have us believe to have existed. When Alfonso VII entered Toledo in 1139, Christians, Moors and Jews went forth to meet him, all singing their songs in their own language and playing their own musical instruments.

Language levelling and unification was also brought about. In part IV of his work Menéndez Pidal brings forth the opinion that the *juglares* were the first poets of the Romance languages. He argues, and quite rightly, that being close to the people, and, we might add, being often obliged to exercise their trade among the common people to make their living, they were the first to compose and recite and sing the religious and national heroic legends in a language that the common people could understand. The Spanish *juglar* of the ninth or tenth century may have sung religious and even national legends in *romance*, the most archaic Spanish, and thus began to establish the Romance speech of Spain. At that remote epoch, Menéndez Pidal believes, the *juglar* and *trobador* were in most cases one and the same. The *juglar* was first on the scene, but he was really also a *trobador*, a poet of the neo-Latin tongue. It is no wonder, our author remarks, that the first clerical poets, even those who pretended to be far above the art of the jongleur, called themselves *juglares* (p. 435).

Part II is a new, amplified, and complete account of the *juglar* in Spain, the history of the troubadours in Spain, the courts of Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII and Alfonso VIII. The important rôle played by the *juglares* at the court of Alfonso VIII and other monarchs, their power in swaying public opinion, such as preaching the crusades against the Moors, and the esteem in which they were held by the ruling powers are presented to the reader in a clear and most fascinating way. Those who are not acquainted with the poetry of the troubadours will want to study it and read it after reading this part of the book.

The most fascinating parts of the book are parts III and IV, where Menéndez Pidal again discusses the question of the origin of the *cantares de gesta* and the *romances*. In view of the fact that the old *cantares* found in prosified form in the Chronicles, beginning with the *Cronicón Silense* of the age of Alfonso VI (1115), are rather brief, the author believes that the most archaic, the oldest *cantares*, *el cantar de Zamora*, *la Condesa traidora* (legend of Garci-Fernández, count of Castile, 970-995), *el Romanz dell Infant García*, *los Infantes de Lara*, were not long, perhaps not longer than 500 or 600 verses. He also ventures to suggest that the prehistoric, oldest French epic poems may have been also of about the same length, shorter by far than the earliest Roland version. Menéndez Pidal now divides the old Spanish *cantares* into two principal divisions: (1) the oldest, archaic versions above mentioned, of purely Castilian origin; and (2) the later, longer versions, influenced by the French epics. The *cantar de mio Cid* is of the second class.

The statement about the native dialect of the *juglar* who composed the *cantar de mio Cid*, on pages 329-330, is not very clear. Certainly the words *fuont*, *puode* are Castilian, the first stages of the diphthongization, later *fuent*, *puede*. The "usos juglarescos" of pages 331-333, which our author finds in the *Cid* and compares to those found in French epic poetry, do not convince one as being peculiarly French, and therefore are not sufficient proof of French influence. The international character of *la juglaría*, so admirably portrayed by Menéndez Pidal, would make these "usos juglarescos" common and well known thruout *Romania*. Their source may be Provençal rather than French.

On the all-important problem of the evolution of the epic *genres* and the origin of the old *romances* Menéndez Pidal has new light; and, to me at least, his conclusions are definite and final. He traces with exquisite erudition the history of the various *cantares* as they appear prosified in the chronicles from the *Cronicón Silense* of 1115 to the fifteenth century chronicles. It is clear to any one who will listen without prejudice that the *crónicas* reveal various versions of the *cantares*. The compilers of the *crónicas* utilized the *cantares* in the twelfth (*Cronicón Silense*), the thirteenth (*Crónica General*), fourteenth (*Crónica* of 1344) centuries, etc., etc. The *crónicas* tell us clearly and definitely that their sources were often the *cantares de gesta* or *fablas*, and also expressly speak of the *juglares* and their *cantares*. This means that the *cantares* were sung or recited by the *juglares* in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some may have been sung even later. The *cantares*, therefore, composed in their primitive form by the *juglares*, had individual authorship, but as the *cantares* were handed down from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, changes took place, and they became in reality anonymous. It is for this reason that Menéndez Pidal is on absolutely firm ground when he holds to the theory that the primitive historical *romance* that is derived from the *cantar* (it is in reality a part of it) is anonymous. The *cantar* has changed in its transmission and the episode or part we later call *romance* is certainly a collective, anonymous product. Taking all these facts into consideration, as we must, it would be very hazardous to assume that any popular epic poem or ballad that goes back to a legend previous to the twelfth or thirteenth century represents in the versions known to us a personal author. It is precisely for these reasons that their primitive authorship is not known. The *cantar juglaresco* became the common property of the *juglar*, and it soon became anonymous. And the *romance* derived from it was a new-born genre with all the marks of anonymity.

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CURRENT SPANISH LITERATURE

II

Foremost among recent events in Spanish letters is the sad loss of several of its most important contributors. At the head of these, and in spite of the fact that she was not Spanish, nor cultivated purely creative literature—in which, in this section, we are most interested—stands the name of a venerable woman, DOÑA CAROLINA MICHAËLIS DE VASCONCELLOS, whose demise occurred on November 16, 1925. Of all foreign Hispanists, it was she who most intimately and deeply penetrated to the depths of the Iberian soul. Aside from her exceptional scientific merits we can consider her as one of us, not only the Portuguese, in whose country she lived and worked for so many years, and to whose language and literature she gave most of her attention, but the Spaniards as well. With equal skill she studied our literature and language in those very points that touch upon the common roots, and demonstrate the fundamental oneness of all the Iberian peoples. Her works on the Portuguese and Spanish languages, medieval poetry, the *romances*, Gil Vicente, Sáa de Miranda, Camões, and so many other aspects of the peninsular literatures are masterly studies, models of irrefragable method and critical acuteness which constitute them the essential basis of all future investigations along the lines of these themes.

Carolina Michaëlis was born in Berlin, March 15, 1851. She grew up in the Germany of this epoch, and to it she owes the methods of scientific study, the philo-

sophical attitude and intellectual curiosity which accompanied her all her life. But after her marriage to Dr. Joaquim Vasconcellos she lived in Portugal from 1876 until her death, and her spirit became Portuguese, more so even than that of the native-born, for no one of them has ever shown her ability to understand, feel and interpret the language and the literature of his race. Doña Carolina—as she was affectionately known to us—was not only a singularly gifted scholar, but a person of exemplary life and virtues, which were enhanced by an exquisite feminine delicacy that lent her scientific achievements that touch of nature which insures them profundity and permanence.

Another personality, whose life and work offer multiple interest, is FRANCISCO A. DE ICAZA, who passed away on May 28, 1925. Icaza is an outstanding example of the Spanish-American man of letters of cosmopolitan type, who can become the spiritual citizen of many countries without ever losing his national characteristics. He was by birth a Mexican, of an old and distinguished family; and Mexico is ever present in his writings, not only in the subject-matter of his verses and investigations, but also in the discreet, reserved, keen spirit, expressed sometimes in tones of noble melancholy, sometimes of sharp mordacity. But, obliged by his diplomatic career to live most of his life in Europe, his mentality was completely European and enriched by the most ample culture. In Spain, where he lived the major part of his life, he was considered a Spaniard, and the classic literature of Spain was the subject of his best investigations. Temporal stays in France and Germany enabled him to acquire an intimate and first-hand knowledge of their literatures; and though this familiarity with the French was nothing new among Spanish-speaking writers, such was not the case with the German, from which Icaza made some notable translations, nor with the other Nordic literatures to which he devoted many critical essays. Icaza's work is interesting both from the point of view of creative literature and erudition. His verses from 1894 on, which appeared in the volumes *Canción del camino*, *Efímeras* and *Lejanías*, were reedited with selections and additions in *Cancionero*, 1923. Although his poetry, by reason of its muted and minor key tone, its freedom from sensation and stridency, has attracted less attention than that of other poets of this epoch, it has a real and enduring value, and a place by itself in Spanish-American poetry. His learned works, especially his Cervantine studies of the *Novelas Ejemplares*, the *Tía Fingida*, the interpretations of the *Quijote*, etc., his last work, published posthumously, *Lope de Vega, sus amores y sus odios*, his editions of Juan de la Cueva, Salas Barbadillo, etc., are fine, scrupulous and erudite contributions to the knowledge of classic Spanish literature, and place him among the foremost scholars of our day.

We grieve to record the loss of another representative—though in a very different wise—Spanish-American: the Argentinean JOSÉ INGENIEROS, 1877–Oct. 31, 1925. Ingenieros was the Spanish-American of foreign birth whom the land of adoption little by little completely assimilates, a phenomenon particularly frequent in the Argentine Republic. Just as in the case of his name, which in his earliest works he signed Ingenieros, the man himself, at first of a cosmopolitan and European outlook, became gradually more and more nationalistic, until in his last years he had become one of the most impassioned and sincere standard-bearers of the "100 % Spanish-American" ideals. By profession a physician, during his early years his interests were principally scientific. His capacity for work was something phenomenal, and he published innumerable books and articles applying to Spanish-American problems the findings of the new sciences, experimental psychology, psychiatry, sociology, criminology, pedagogy, which he had acquired from foreign sources, and which he

disseminated at home. Although today in the Argentine, as in the world at large, there has set in a reaction against those trends of thought which were generally accepted until twenty or thirty years ago, and Ingenieros' position as teacher and spiritual leader was somewhat obscured in these last years, this does not diminish the importance of his influence, which he exerted not only through his own writings, but through the *Revista de Filosofía*, of which he was for many years editor. This organ kept the Argentine in touch with the intellectual currents dominant in the world, and has helped to break down many of the narrow prejudices of her traditional culture.

Ingenieros himself realized that in his zeal to bring modern thought and progress to the Argentine he had gone too far in his reaction against the tradition of the country, and the work of his later years dealt with purely national problems. The subject of his interest was this very tradition, as in *La evolución de las ideas argentinas*, and in the collection of works by native authors, *La cultura argentina*, which was published under his direction.

In the end these ideas completely absorbed him, and he became one of the most ardent promulgators of the idea of political unity for Spanish-America. What contributed most to this sentiment in him was the fear of possible absorption of Spanish-America by the United States. Americans who wish and need to understand South America might find food for reflection in the case of this sometime psychologist whose science owed so much to that of North America, and who finally came to consider himself incompatible with the land of William James.

In January, and while so much was still to be expected of his wide, seasoned culture, ADOLFO BONILLA Y SAN MARTÍN died suddenly in Madrid. It is hardly necessary to recall the facts of his life and work, as he was so well known to scholars in this country. The deceased was Dean of the Facultad de Letras of the Universidad Central, member of various academies, recently Visiting Professor at the University of California, with whose Professor Schevill he was collaborating in the edition of Cervantes' complete works. He was the author of a number of notable works dealing with the most diversified phases of the intellectual and literary history of Spain, among which deserve special mention his History of Spanish Philosophy, his book on Vives, the philosopher, and his studies of the Romances of Chivalry, the Theatre and Novels of the XVI and XVII centuries. These, and the many others with which all Hispanists are familiar, made him heir to the title of polygraph, which he inherited from his master, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo.

And lastly, we record the recent death of D. ANTONIO MAURA Y MONTANER, not because of the event's political importance, but by reason of his position as president of the Spanish Academy. He had been elevated to this position because of his oratorical gifts, and during the later years of his life he devoted assiduous attention to all the Academy's activities on behalf of the Spanish language and literature. By unanimous vote D. RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, president of the Centro de Estudios Históricos, has been elected to succeed him. This appointment was received both in Spain and abroad with the warmest approval; and in this attitude there lies the public recognition of the highest merit that exists today in the philology, literature and history of Spain.

Amidst this natural, but nevertheless depressing disappearance of illustrious personalities, it is pleasant to note the survival of the creative force in a writer like ARMANDO PALACIO VALDÉS, who, with the arrival of old age, seems to have been blessed with a new lease on the freshness and optimism of youth. He has published two new novels this past year, *La hija de Natalia* (Madrid, V. Suárez, 1925), and

Santa Rogelia (Madrid, V. Suárez, 1925). The first is a continuation of his two earlier works dealing with Dr. Angélico. With its mixture of autobiography and sentimental philosophy it satisfactorily maintains the tone of its predecessors. Through these works one comes closer to the heart of the author than through the realistic novels of his earlier epoch. Palacio Valdés is frankly an idealist, and this idealism, which has more or less characterized all his later works, has a religious significance which is perhaps exaggerated in *Santa Rogelia*. Here in a realistic setting, from which Palacio Valdés cannot free himself, he paints an ideal of sacrifice and saintliness which has its roots and interpretation in the Middle Ages. The significant interest of such works is to see how our modern spiritual uneasiness reacts upon a writer who was formed in the flowering of nineteenth century realism.

A great deal of water has flowed under the bridge, not only since the 'eighties of Palacio Valdés, but since 1898, when the chief exponents of what has been known until a short time ago as the contemporary novel came to the fore. There have been recent contributions from the pen of the three great masters of the epoch, VALLE-INCLÁN, AZORÍN and BAROJA. The works of the last two show a continued emphasis and enhancing of those qualities which are characteristic of their individual art and that of their epoch, as though they were consciously striving to affirm and maintain them despite the evident change of direction in the new generation of writers. Only Valle-Inclán has risen out of himself, and is even a pathfinder for the new sensibility. This does not mean that these new works of Azorín and Baroja are deficient in merit or in novelty. Both *Doña Inés* (Madrid, Caro Raggio, 1925) and *La nave de los locos* (Madrid, Caro Raggio, 1925) manifest the best qualities of their authors, and are in every way worthy of those other of their earlier works which won for them years ago their enviable position as novelists. *Doña Inés*, like its predecessor *Don Juan*, is the resurrection to a new life of a Zorrillan character, of which all that remains in Azorín's work is the name and its poetic connotation. There is a great similarity in the manner in which Azorín has interpreted *Doña Inés* now and *Don Juan* before. At first glance it would seem that nothing was left of the traditional figures, as they are divested of their accepted features and actions, and portrayed in a new atmosphere and setting. Yet, thanks to this transfiguration which is so original, Azorín has managed to distill the very quintessence of their poetic significance. This work contains some of the best pages Azorín has ever written, and the most characteristic of his art, the originality and value of which we have so often noted. And *La nave de los locos* is one of the most typically Barojian of novels, and, therefore, one of the best. Perfectly conscious now of his much-mooted art, as he shows in the prologue in which he gives his ideas about the novel, Baroja not only does not waver in his ideals or his attitude, but he accentuates them, and expresses them in ever greater relief. The novel consists of a series of aimless voyages, in the course of which a multitude of characters passes in kaleidoscopic procession, so devoid of connection or meaning as to make the vessel of their travels seem a ship of a madman. The Spanish character of the actors and the vision of the chaotic Spain of the early nineteenth century give a national significance to the title. This volume continues the series *Memorias de un hombre de acción*, which is the most considerable monument of the contemporary Spanish novel.

VALLE-INCLÁN, as we indicated, has found a new manner. His latest "esperpento" *Los cuernos de Don Friolera* (Madrid, Renacimiento, 1925) shows clearly what this new genre is that represents the latest form of the many-prism, yet undivided, art of the writer possessing the purest artistic sensibility in Spain today.

There is no form of aesthetic emotion that Valle-Inclán has not expressed in his marvellous style. Now in these "esperpentos," as he calls them with that extraordinary aptness and profundity that characterize all his expressions, the grotesque, the dissonant, the ugly, even the repulsive have their turn. On many occasions, in connection with the work of younger authors, it will be necessary to speak again of the significance of this tendency, for all the new art is permeated by it. What is most interesting to note is that Valle-Inclán who was the master of all that is exquisite and poetic in Spanish prose should also be master of this new disconcerting language whose emotional and artistic value derives from elements that at first sight are ugly, commonplace, even coarse. A study of the harmonious development of Valle-Inclán's style from the preciosities of the *Sonatas* through the archaic rudeness and rusticity of the *Comedias bárbaras* and the "funambulismo" of *La pipa de kif* to this new style of the "esperpentos" would be one of the most valuable contributions to a knowledge not only of Valle-Inclán's art, but of this whole epoch.

Besides the works of these authors there is an interesting volume of short stories by A. HERNÁNDEZ CATÁ, *Libro de amor* (Madrid, Editorial Mundo Latino, 1924). The narrative talent of the author has reached maturity, and displays its best qualities in a fine and difficult simplicity, pleasing and in good taste. R. CANSINOS-ASSENS in his novel *Las luminarias de Hanukah* (Madrid, Ed. Internacional, 1924) has given us a volume full of deep feeling, dealing with what he calls "an episode of the history of Israel in Spain." It is not with an episode of the history of Hebrew Spain, which came to a violent end in 1492, that the book deals, but with present-day Spain. Cansinos-Assens describes with a good deal of fidelity, though with assumed names, one of the most curious movements in Spain today: the discovery and establishment of relations with the descendants of those Spanish or Sephardic Jews who have lived for 400 years without any communication with the land that for so many centuries was theirs, yet have preserved to this very day its language, music and traditions. This new contact with the exiled race has been characterized in Spain by touches of sentiment that give it a dramatic and emotional tone, despite the unimportance of its results so far. Of this sentimental aspect, Cansinos-Assens' book is an example.

The year's theatrical success, the greatest in a long time, was the drama in verse by MARQUINA and HERNÁNDEZ CATÁ, *Don Luis Mejía*. The colorless figure that in Zorrilla is only a counterpart of Don Juan—which is tantamount to being nothing at all, for the essence of Don Juan is his invincible force, which only God and death can overcome in his first conception, and love in the romantic version of Zorrilla—is here the hero. Marquina and Hernández Catá have not only endowed him with life, but a life full of human significance and feeling. The great skill of the authors lies in their having seen that beneath the same actions—for Luis Mejía's life is a studied imitation of Don Juan's—there exists a psychology antithetically opposed to Don Juan's. The most subtle difference lies in the fact that although both are libertines, Don Juan wins the women, while Don Luis is won by them. Or as it is expressed in the drama: "Las mujeres de Don Juan, y Don Luis de las mujeres." No task is more difficult than that of trying to reproduce or continue the life of a character which is stamped with the genius of its first creator, and which has become so hallowed with time and tradition in the mind of the public that its slightest details are sacred. The enormous success of this drama, not only with the critics but with the public at large, goes to prove the indubitable merits of the work.

According to the dramatic critics of Madrid there is nothing not to be found in

his other works in BENAVENTE's latest play *Alfilerazos* (first presented Oct. 7, 1925). Once more the stage becomes the tribune whence he launches his moral ideas about life and people, and gives voice ever more clearly to the Benaventian philosophy of the uselessness of the victory of good over evil. LINARES RIVAS in his play *Primero vivir* (first presented Jan. 17, 1926) once more stages a conflict between life and laws.

Despite the success of the foregoing works, neither the old writers seem capable of superseding themselves, nor have the new ones done anything worth mentioning. In the midst of this decadence, which it is to be hoped is merely transitory, certain theatrical events stand out, though more as curiosities of the moment than anything else. Among these are the revival of old works, such as Galdós' *Doña Perfecta*, which has motivated political discussions; the presentation of Lope de Vega's *La niña de plata*, worked over by the Machado brothers and Pérez Hernández, another sign of the growing interest in Lope de Vega; the performance of a play by D. Juan Valera, *La venganza de Atahualpa*, on the occasion of his centenary; the dramatization of Sarmiento's *Facundo* by Valentín de Pedro with the title *El caudillo*; and even a translation of Hugo's *Hernani* by the Machados and Villasespa. The spiritual restlessness and desire for innovation attested by this mélange, in which must be included the widespread interest in foreign dramatists, especially Pirandello, may be the first streaks of dawn in a theatrical renaissance. Writers who are known as men of ideas rather than as dramatists have been able to arouse the public's interest, despite the artistic defects of their works and the complexity of their concepts. Such is the case with LUIS ARAQUISTAIN who has returned to the theatre this year with *El Rodeo*, and MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, whose short story *Todo un hombre*, dramatized by Julio de Hoyos, was received with tumultuous applause. No doubt a part of this enthusiasm was due to the political significance of Unamuno, who yet continues in his voluntary exile. But though still outside of Spain, he left Paris, which held nothing for him, some time ago, and is now at Hendaye, on the border, in his Basque country, though in France, where he can look across to his Spain every day. For though Unamuno is now in conflict with certain features of Spanish life, the fact is that this man, who is so steeped in foreign cultures, is incompatible with all the rest of the world that is not Spain. It is pathetic to think of Unamuno's old age being spent in this form; and one would wish that both he and the rest of Spain could understand that it should not be so. In his first exile he wrote a volume of sonnets *De Fuerteventura a París* (Paris, Ed. Excelsior, 1925) whose only interest lies in their record of his life there.

To round out this outline of the literary movement of Spain in the last months, it would be necessary to give an account of several interesting volumes of poetry. But in order to judge the individual value of the new poets it would be desirable to consider the poetic production of the last few years as a whole, and space obliges us to leave this for another article.

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FRENCH LITERARY NEWS IN BRIEF

A LITERARY SKIRMISH: In spite of the momentous problems with which politics and finance confront the nation, literature and art maintain their right to the attention of the public. An address delivered before the *Académie française*, by M. Henri Brémond, has been the source of lively discussions and of militant articles in the literary press. The question is not a new one: Is true poetry a mere form of rationalistic expression? Is poetical thought distinct from reason? M. Brémond believes in a *poésie pure*, remarking that the charm of poetry lies in what escapes our attempts at definition. His adversary, M. Paul Souday, maintains in *Le Temps* that poetical appreciation is an intellectual exercise. This discussion now divides the literary world, and M. Brémond and M. Souday are the champions of the two parties.—

EDUCATION: A new and significant development in French educational methods is the addition to the school curriculum of lessons on artistic appreciation and criticism of masterpieces. This was, no doubt, suggested by the valuable results given by the method known as *Explication de textes*, a formative discipline applied in all the public schools, which may be partly responsible for the general interest shown in France for the abundant literary creations of today. The principles that underlie literary and artistic criticism are the same (so far as invention is concerned); and, with respect to ideas and feelings, a literary text and a good reproduction of some masterpiece may form an equally good basis for discussion. This new measure is the result of a tendency that was already manifest some ten years ago, when M. P. Crouzet introduced in his volumes on French composition for the use of the Lycées a *Portefeuille d'art*. The use of good reproductions of the best works of art will give more scope to practical training in criticism, for if the pen has over the brush the advantage of expressing a series of actions in time, the brush is able to supply a reproduction really more vivid and more impressive than that of a literary transposition, and its mode of suggestion is different. There is still another field wherein the same method could be applied, viz., the field of music. Some day, perhaps, a critical commentary of musical selections may become a part of the regular curriculum. These developments are in line with the tradition of France where aesthetic achievement is often valued by the people.—PROVINCE: *L'Académie des Dix de Province* has been recently organized in order to encourage literary creation in the provinces. M. Anatole Le Braz, well known to the American public, was one of the members of the Academy. He has himself written many stories about the Province of Brittany.—ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE: On November 19th were elected M. Louis Bertrand, M. le duc de la Force and M. Paul Valéry (the last one by seventeen votes against fourteen for M. Léon Bérard). These new Academicians take the chairs of Barrès, d'Haussonville and Anatole France.—ANDRÉ BEAUVRIER, author of *Suzanne et le plaisir* and of *Une âme de femme*, who was a novelist faithful to the tradition of the psychological novel, died suddenly in December.—BELGIQUE: Horace Van Offel, of Antwerp, author of short stories published in *Le Matin* and *Excelsior* and of several novels among which *Suzanne et son Vieillard*, was given the annual prize of Belgian literature for his new novel *Les deux ingénus*.—FRANCE-ESPAGNE: One of the features of Romance activities in Paris this season is the organization, under the auspices of the *Institut d'Etudes hispaniques de Paris*, of a course on the economic evolution of contemporary Spain given this semester at the Sorbonne by M. Angel Marvand. The *Institut* prepared also a program of lectures of special interest to French students of Spanish literature and art, among which was one given by Professor Altamira on the thesis drama in Spanish literature. In April there was a Spanish week. The *Institut* is doing excellent work under the guidance of its well-known president, Dr. E. Martinenche, Professor at the Sorbonne, and is at present the most efficient factor in Franco-Spanish relations. Not only does the *Institut* strive to create a reciprocal interest in literary matters but in scientific and artistic ones as well. At its headquarters, 96 Boulevard Raspail, Hispanists will find a well-provided library of books on Spain as well as a bureau of research and information which publishes every year a number of reports and monographs about Spain. The services of the Bureau are available to all scholars and are absolutely free of charge. On the other hand, the *Residencia para Estudiantes* in Madrid invited recently M. Georges Duhamel, who gave a lecture on the development of the novel in modern France.—COOPÉRATION INTELLECTUELLE: It is with the keenest interest that we should follow the development of the I. I. C. I.

(*Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle*) which was inaugurated in January at the Palais Royal. One readily understands the part that can be played by such an organization in the scientific world. Truth, being impersonal, has a universal value, altogether irrespective of human personality and of national frontiers. A clearing house is bound to be of service to those engaged in research work, by keeping them informed of the results attained in their respective fields. But what about literature and art? Is not personality all important in such matters? Would not attempts at standardization prove to be very harmful? No, in this matter the *Institut* has outlined its policy: It has "practical aims" and will in no way encroach upon the absolute freedom of artistic and literary creation. Its services will be very valuable in the following fields: Printing, popularization, translation, payment of royalties, standardization of the size of books, unification of an international policy of tariff on books, postal fees, bibliographical centralization, etc. It is to be noted that although the *I. I. C. I.* is located at the Palais Royal in Paris and is supported by the French Government, the organization is independent of the French authorities and knows no other master than the *Commission de Coopération Intellectuelle* of the League of Nations, a body composed of scientific and artistic personalities of many different countries. Professor R. A. Millikan, of the Technological Institute of California, is a member of the Commission. It was under its auspices that M. Julien Luchaire published his studies on intellectual life in France, namely, *L'Enseignement des langues, littératures et civilisations modernes* (I); *La Protection et la Diffusion du goût artistique* (II); *Les Universités et la vie sociale* (IV); *La Propagande intellectuelle française* (V). For further information on this new *I. I. C. I.* see the very concise article published in *Le Monde Nouveau* by Professor Giuseppe Prezzolini, who was visiting professor of Italian literature in Columbia University in the Summer Session of 1923, and whose coöperation with this new organization is of good omen. See also two pamphlets *La Société des Nations et la Coopération intellectuelle*, 1926; and *L'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle*, 1926.

R. VAILLANT

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FRENCH BOOK NOTES

Tuffrau (Paul), *Le merveilleux voyage de Saint Brandan à la recherche du Paradis*. Paris, L'Artisan du Livre Raoul de Cambrai, 10 fr.

The author of the *Lais de Marie de France* and *La Légende de Guillaume d'Orange* (crowned by the French Academy), was particularly fitted to adapt for the French public the marvellous story of Saint Brendan, as we find it in a Latin manuscript of the ninth century. The holy man left his monastery accompanied by fourteen monks and sailed forth in a small boat made of hides stretched on poles, in quest of Paradise which (so he had been told) lay behind the line where the sun sets. After many adventures, the Saint and his companions reach Paradise. They get only a glimpse of it because their mortal nature could not behold God's majesty, and, consequently, they return to Ireland. One may wonder whether this mysterious land "beyond the line where the sun sets," which is referred to in poems until the sixteenth century, is not America, and whether the Celts of Ireland had not once reached our shores. Renan saw in this legend the most complete expression of Celtic genius. In speaking of these beautiful adaptations of old legends, mention should also be made of that of *Raoul de Cambrai*, another volume by Tuffrau, crowned by the Academy. Whereas the *Chanson de Roland* is a collective drama, *Raoul de*

Cambrai is an individual one, a problem of conscience, the tragedy of remorse. The adaptation has faithfully retained the severe tone of the original. As most of our students do not study old French, and hence cannot read in the original such stories as *Raoul de Cambrai*, they would be deprived of a real pleasure were it not for these adaptations.

Martino (P.), *Parnasse et Symbolisme*. Paris, A. Colin, 7 fr.

M. Martino, Professor in the University of Algiers, outlines in these 220 pages the poetical movement in France between 1850 and 1900. One appreciates in this volume the qualities of the author's former study of *Naturalisme*, i.e., conciseness and clearness. The book contains a synthetical sketch of the latest results of criticism, to which M. Martino adds his own views on the subject. The material is arranged so as to offer a summary of the period. After having treated Gautier and Banville, the author discusses in greater detail Leconte de Lisle and the poets of his school, viz., Dierx, Prudhomme, Coppée, Hérédia, etc. To Baudelaire he devotes a whole chapter, then Verlaine, Mallarmé and Rimbaud are studied. The second half of the volume deals with symbolism from Villiers de l'Isle Adam and Jules Laforgue to Kahn, Viélé-Griffin, Stuart Merrill, Fort, and even to Moréas, de Régnier, Samain, Jammes, etc. A chapter on the reaction against symbolism concludes this useful little volume.

Bertrand (Aloysius), *Gaspard de la Nuit*. Paris, Payot, 12 fr.

The book begins with an attractive sketch by Sainte-Beuve retracing the strange destiny of this Louis Bertrand who was born at Ceva, Piedmont, in 1807, of a Lorrain father and an Italian mother, who studied at Dijon, penned some lines worthy of Victor Hugo, came to Paris to seek poetical fortune and died in poverty from consumption in 1841. His work *Gaspard de la Nuit* was not published until Sainte-Beuve issued an edition which was followed by several others. The book had a certain vogue; and it is known that Baudelaire and Mallarmé drew inspiration from its fanciful pages. The present edition differs from the former ones in that the text is based on Bertrand's manuscript, while all alterations and errors transmitted in Sainte-Beuve's edition have been carefully corrected. Furthermore it is supplied with a notice on the manuscript, critical and historical notes, and 30 reproductions of engravings by Durer, Rembrandt, Callot and other masters whose works fed Bertrand's extraordinary imagination.

Saillens (Emile), *Toute la France*. Paris, Larousse.

Here is a book that fills a long felt need: it is neither a dry text-book in which facts are enumerated and charted out, nor a childish treatise of commonplace character, but is full of information and pleasantly written. The first three chapters give a brief study of the geography, flora and fauna of France. Information on the origin, diversity and unity of the French race is given in the fourth chapter. In the following chapters will be read with interest a description of the various provinces. Chapters X to XII present an accurate picture of the various social classes, of French life and of the political system. Chapters XII to XV, devoted to agriculture, industry and commerce, give an up-to-date account of French economic activity. A chapter on landscape, monuments and *tourisme* cannot fail to interest the reader. The other chapters afford a chronological survey of the development of French art and belles-lettres: literature, architecture, sculpture, painting, music and furniture. This survey is divided into three periods: I, The beginnings, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the XVIIth century; II, The classical age, i.e., the "siècle de Louis

XIV" and the "siècle de Voltaire"; and III, The XIXth century and the contemporary period.

This panorama unfolds in 77 pages the whole development of French artistic genius. Besides containing a summary of some twenty pages, the XXth and last chapter supplies also the opinions of other nations about France. Finally, under the title, "Quelques Ouvrages sur la France," is found a useful bibliography. Not only those who contemplate a trip to France, but all students of the French language and readers of French literature will find valuable information in this book. It affords up-to-date, instructive and pleasant reading, and its complete alphabetical index makes of it a useful reference work.

Pirou (Gaëtan), *Les Doctrines économiques en France depuis 1870*. Paris, Colin, 7 fr.

Social evolution in France is conditioned by economic facts which the various sections of the French democracy interpret differently. What are the economic doctrines of the French today? Of what other doctrines are they the outcome? Those questions are answered in a very concise and clear treatise by M. Gaëtan Pirou, professor of economics at the University of Bordeaux. The subject is a vast one: French thinkers are fond of systems and of theories and, although the period studied in the book is comparatively short, the material is abundant. To select representative theorists and to offer a complete, though brief, exposition of each doctrine, such was the work of Professor Pirou. The classification of the material is very clear: In books I and II are grouped those doctrines that gravitate around the two poles of economic thought—socialism and individualism. In book III are expounded such doctrines as oscillate between the former two. Shades within a given group are carefully observed, thus individualism is divided into extreme and moderate individualism. Surveying socialistic thought we see the introduction of Marxism, its first influence, the outburst of syndicalism, and the synthetical effort of Jaurès who, through conciliatory methods, brings together historical idealism and materialism, and whose reasoning, in turn inductive and deductive, leads to a collectivism to be brought about preferably by peaceful methods. Individualism is surveyed in the varied interpretations given by Colson, Yves-Guyot, Leroy-Beaulieu, Demolins, and Schatz. Finally, among the intermediary doctrines are outlined solidarism, reformism—the latter supported by Professor Albert Aftalion, a scholar whose methods of investigation are akin to those of Professor Moore of Columbia University—social Catholicism, and economic nationalism.

Merejkowsky (Dmitry), *Michel Ange* (traduction de Dumesnil de Gramont). Paris, Arthème Fayard, 9 fr.

Contains four stories, the first of which retraces the momentous career of the great artist who witnessed the reigns of six Popes, in turn the object of adulation, favour, envy and hatred. Buonarrotti's character is strongly outlined. His spontaneity, his straightforwardness (which more than once made him incur the wrath of the powerful), and, most of all, his artistic integrity invariably opposed to compromise, are most cleverly brought out. Next in interest is Julius II's character: the violent and whimsical autocrat, a conqueror more than a Pope, is vividly presented. An interesting discussion on the art of Michael Angelo and Raphael is inserted in the narrative.

Pierre-Quint (Léon), *Marcel Proust, sa vie, son oeuvre*. Paris, Kra, 12 fr.

The first and only complete study of the biography, works and methods of the author of *Du Côté de Chez Swann*. Invaluable for whoever wants to fathom the

depth of invention in Proust and understand the literary elaboration of the material selected. The second part of the volume (pages 125-174) contains a keen investigation into Proust's psychological activity and shows it to be akin to Bergsonian intuition; it explains how Proust's style is that of the classical age with an abundance of subordinate clauses corresponding to the attempt at expressing in one effort elusive states of consciousness. It emphasizes the part played in the writer's mental activity by his exploration of the subconscious, that vast and dark field from which he attempts to tear some wisp of his true self so as to bring it out to light, hence his interest in dreams; besides, it expounds the theory of perpetual evolution of consciousness and subconsciousness and points to Proust's effort at restoring to each minute of experience its individuality. The first part of the book is a biographical sketch which brings out the link between the life and the works of the writer, and the third part is devoted to his "universe." In short, M. Pierre-Quint's volume is the best guide to the vast and uneven land of Proustian creation. Since we are dealing with Proust, we may recall the ten pages devoted to him by M. Bernard Faÿ in his *Panorama de la Littérature contemporaine*, in which he notes the acrope of Proustian creation and the limits of this new art.

Diderot (Denis), *Le Neveu de Rameau*. Paris, Payot, 12 fr.

A very beautiful and handy edition of this philosophical and satirical dialogue. The text is that of the original. Together with the *Neveu* are published some other texts: the *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, the *Regret sur ma Vieille Robe de Chambre*, the *Entretiens d'un Philosophe sur la Maréchale de . . .*, and the *Essai sur les Femmes*. In 300 pages we have the best selections from Diderot. The volume begins with a biography by André Billy. Many pages are adorned with delightful XVIIIth century engravings.

Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*. 2 vols., Paris, Larousse, 10 fr.

A very good edition by M. Auguste Dupouy, in the well known collection of the Bibliothèque Larousse. Contains also the *Recueil de Fables* and *L'Education des Filles*.

RENÉ VAILLANT

BARNARD COLLEGE

ROMANCE LINGUISTICS IN 1925¹

The author wishes to thank Professors T. A. Jenkins and P. F. Smith, Jr., of the University of Chicago, Professors U. T. Holmes of the University of North Carolina and H. H. Vaughan of the University of California for the opportunity of referring to the various lists arranged by them for the Romance Philology group of the Modern Language Association of America, which met in 1925 in Chicago. A list of Chansons de Geste drawn up by Professor W. P. Shepard of Hamilton College has been utilized also, for the most part, in the division below: *Language Groups—Old French and Provençal*. The reader is also referred to the surveys of Professor H. C. Lancaster (French) and J. P. W. Crawford (Spanish and Italian) in "American Bibliography for 1925" (PMLA XLI, 1926, pp. 30-45); and J. L. Gerig, "Modern Philology," *New International Year Book*, and "Philology," *Americana Annual* (both in press).

¹ Not only books and articles published in 1925 but also reviews appearing in that year of books written either in 1925 or preceding years are listed here.

(BOOKS, ARTICLES, REVIEWS)²

I—GENERAL

- Breviario di neolinguistica* P. I. *Principi generali* di G. Bertoni. P. II. *Criteri tecnici* di M. G. Bartoli, Modena, Società tipogr. modenese, 1925, 127 pp., 12 L.: rev. by G. Bertoni in AR IX, p. 344.
- Brunot, F.—*La Limite des langues en Belgique sous le premier Empire*, Acad. roy. de Langue et de Litt. franç., Bulletin 111, 6, 1925 (?).
- Diego, G.—*Miscelánea filológica*, RFE XII, pp. 1-15.
- Friedwagner, M.—*Romanische Philologie, Wege und Ziele*, Frankfurter Universitäts-Kalender, 1924-5, 8°, 16 pp.
- Gomes, P.—*Cinco cartas filológicas*, RFP II, pp. 79-96.
- Grai și suflet*. Revista Institutului de Filologie și Folklor (*Language and Soul*, a New Revue for Romance Philology and Folklore) pub. by Ovid Densusianu, Bukarest, 1923, v. I, fasc. I: rev. by M. Friedwagner in ANSL vol. 148, pp. 275-9.
- Jespersen, O.—*The Philosophy of Grammar*, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1924: rev. by F. Wild in NSpr XXXIII, pp. 306-12.
- Les Langues du monde* par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de A. Meillet et M. Cohen, 1924, XVI-811 pages, avec 18 cartes linguistiques hors texte: rev. by M. Roques in Ro LI, p. 157; M. Niedermann in LGRPh XLVI, pp. 210-3; A. Castro in RFE XII, pp. 87-8; E. Sapir in MLN XL, pp. 373-5.
- Lotspeich, C. M.—*Romance and Germanic Linguistic Tendencies*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Urbana, Illinois, XXIV, pp. 325-34.
- Mélanges de Philologie*, offerts à M. Johan Vising par ses élèves et ses amis scandinaves, à l'occasion du soixante-dixième anniversaire de sa naissance, Göteborg, N. J. Gumperts; Paris, E. Champion, 1925, XII-419 pp.: rev. by U. T. Holmes in MLN XLI, pp. 138-40; K. Glaser in ZFSL XLVIII, pp. 154-8.
- Millardet, G.—*Linguistique et dialectologie romanes*. Réponse à quelques critiques, Paris, Champion, 1925, 8°, 46 pp. (Ex. de RLR LXII, pp. 377-422).
- Rouaix, P.—*Dictionnaire-manuel illustré des idées suggérées par les mots*, contenant tous les mots de la langue française groupés d'après le sens, Paris, Colin, 1925, 8°.
- Rozwadowski, J.—*Les Tâches de la linguistique*, BSLParis XXV, pp. 105-22.
- Saralegui y Medina, M. de—*Escarceos filológicos*, T. III, Madrid, Imp. de los hijos de Hernández, 1925, 312 pp.
- Scott, J. B.—*Le Français, langue diplomatique moderne*, étude critique de conciliation internationale, Paris, A. Pédone, 1924, X-326 pp.: rev. by A. Schinz in MLN XLI, pp. 140-2.
- La Société de linguistique romane*. *La Revue de linguistique romane*, Nos. 1-2, jan.-juin, 1925 (A. Meillet—*Les Langues romanes et les tendances indo-européennes*; W. Meyer-Lübke—*Die romanische Sprachwissenschaft der letzten zwölf Jahre*; A. Griaer—*Le Domaine catalan*, etc.).
- Terracher, A.—*Géographie linguistique*. *Histoire et philologie* (à propos d'un ouvrage récent), Paris, Champion, pp. 259-350, 8° (Extr. de BSLParis vol. XXIV).
- Vendryès, J.—*Language*. A Linguistic Introduction to History. Trans. by P. Radin, London, Kegan, 1925, 16 s.

² A list of reviews referred to with their abbreviations will be found at the end of this list. All others are given in full in the text.

II—VULGAR AND MEDIAEVAL LATIN

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- Camilli, A.—*Quisquillie di latino volgare*, ZRPh XLIV, pp. 215-7.
- Gamillscheg, E.—*Wetzstein und Kumpf im Gallo-romanischen*, AR VI, pp. 1-104: rev. by J. Jud in ZFSL XLVIII, pp. 158-66.
- Gaselee, A.—*An Anthology of Mediaeval Latin*, London and New York, Macmillan and Company, 1925, XII+140 pp.: cf. SPhil XXII, p. 551.
- Hagendahl, H.—*Die Perfektformen auf -ere und -erunt*. Ein Beitrag zur Technik der spätlateinischen Kunstprosa, Uppsala, Leipzig, 1923, 46 pp.: rev. by V. Uscani in BdC II, pp. 120-1.
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- Heiberg, J. L.—*Glossae Medicinales*, Copenhagen, 1924, 96 pp., 8°: rev. by H. Goelzer in BdC II, pp. 124-6.
- Jordan, L.—*Potentiale und irrealer Bedingungssätze im Vlat. u. afrz.*, ZRPh XLIV, pp. 322-332; Id.—*Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Handelssprachgeschichte zur Zeit der Merowinger*, ANSL vol. 149, pp. 65-76.
- Marchot, P.—*Bas-latin traugum* (Loi des Ripuaires), ZRPh XLIV, pp. 727-8.
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- Morf, H.—*Auswahl aus den Werken des Gregor von Tours*. Sammlung vulgärlateinischer Texte, herausgegeben von W. Heraeus und H. Morf, Heidelberg, 1922, Carl Winter, 67 pp.: cf. NSpr XXXIII, p. 305.
- Plummer, Rev. C.—*Glossary of Du Cange, Addenda, Corrigenda*, BdC IV, pp. 223-31.
- Rohlf, G.—*Das romanische habeo-Futurum und Konditionalis*, AR VI, pp. 105-54: rev. by K. Sneyders de Vogel in N XI, p. 223.
- Rumpf, P.—*L'Etude de la latinité médiévale*, AR IX, pp. 218-91.
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- Tomas, A.—*Un manuscrit inutilisé du Liber Monstrorum*, BdC IV, pp. 232-45.
- von Wartburg, W.—*Französisches-etymologisches Wörterbuch*, eine Darstellung des Gallo-romanischen Sprachschatzes, Bonn, 1922: rev. by H. Gröhler in ZFEU XXIV, p. 170; L. Spitzer in NSpr XXXIII, pp. 49-53.

III—PHONOLOGY

- Bacinski, I.—*Zur Geschichte der l-Verbindungen im Romanischen*, ZRPh XLIV, pp. 257-64.
- Bargy, H.—*Description phonétique du présent du verbe*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1925.
- Clédat, L.—*Manuel de phonétique et de morphologie romanes*, E. Champion, 1925, 12 Fr.
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- Toulouse, 1924, 192 pp.; *Le présent dans la conjugaison castillane*, 28 pp. (Extr. des *Annales de l'Université de Grenoble*, 1923): cf. RPhFL XXXVII, p. 75.
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- Marchot, P.—*Une évolution phonétique du wallon primitif (al devant une consonne)*, ZRPh XLIV, pp. 200-6.
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IV—SYNTAX

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- Field, H. F.—*Comparative Syntax and Some Modern Theories of the Subjunctive*, MPhil XXIII, pp. 201-24.
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- Haas, J.—*Kurzgefasste neufranzösische Syntax*. Verkürzte Bearbeitung der neufranzösische Syntax, Halle (Saale), Niemeyer, 1924, vol. I, 1-112 pp.: rev. by R. Vaillant in RRQ XVI, pp. 98-100.
- Holmes, U. T.—*Die detonten Objekt-pronomen mit unpersönlichen Verben*, ZRPh XLIV, pp. 337-39.
- Lerch, E.—*Historische französische Syntax I. Conjunctions*, Leipzig, Reisland, 1925, 8°, 327 pp.
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- Morley, S. G.—*Modern Uses of ser and estar*, PMLA XL, pp. 450–89.
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cf. N XI, p. 72.
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V—ETYMOLOGY, VOCABULARY AND STYLE

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- Bertoldi, V.—*Un ribelle nel regno dei fiori. I nomi romanzî del colchium autumnale attraverso il tempò e lo spatio*. Biblioteca dell' Archivum Romanicum diretta da Giulio Bertoni, série II, Linguistica, vol. 4, Genève, Leo S. Olschki, 1923: rev. by W. von Wartburg in RPhFL XXXVII, pp. 68–70; G. Rohlf in ZFSL XLVIII, pp. 167–71.
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- Brüch, J.—*Etymologisches* (Aprov. muzan; Die aprov. Verbalsubstantiva auf -i; Frz. moyen, moyeu, aide; Frz. noise; Afrz. larris; Frz. entamer), ZRPh XLV, pp. 70–83.
- Buffin, J. M.—*Remarques sur les moyens d'expression de la durée et du temps en français*, les Presses universitaires de Paris, 1925, 12 Fr.
- Castro, A.—*Acerca del Nombre de Badajoz*, RFE XII, pp. 76–7.
- Collin, C. S. R.—*Fr. chagrin=ledsen; colère=ond*, *Mélanges Vising*, 1925, pp. 55–60.
- Coromines, J.—*Etimologies araneses*, BDC XIII, 1925.
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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS (WITH ABBREVIATIONS)

AG	Archivio Glottologico Italiano, Torino.
ANSL	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, Brunswick-Berlin.
AR	Archivum Romanicum, Geneva.
BAE	Boletín de la Real Academia Española, Madrid.
BdC	Bulletin du Cange, Paris (Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi).
BDC	Bulleti de Dialectologia Catalana, Barcelona.
BSLParis	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Paris.
GRM	Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, Heidelberg.
H	Hispania, Stanford Univ., California.
LGRPh	Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, Leipzig.
MLJ	Modern Language Journal, New York.
MLN	Modern Language Notes, Baltimore.
MLR	Modern Language Review, Cambridge, England.
MPhil	Modern Philology, Chicago.
N	Neophilogus, Groningen, The Hague.
NS	Die neueren Sprachen, Marburg.
PhilQ	Philological Quarterly, Iowa City, Iowa.
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Bryn Mawr.
RFE	Revista de Filología Española, Madrid.
RH	Revue Hispanique, Paris.
RPhFL	Revue de philologie française et de littérature, Paris.
RLR	Revue des langues romanes, Montpellier.
Ro	Romania, Paris.
RRQ	The Romanic Review, New York.
SPhil	Studies in Philology, North Carolina.
ZFEU	Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht, Berlin.
ZRPh	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Halle.
ZFSL	Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur, Jena und Leipzig.

PAULINE TAYLOR

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EL INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS

At the meeting of the General Council at the Men's Faculty Club, Columbia University, on January 12th, the whole policy of the future of the *Instituto* was discussed at length. Since its organization a great many plans have been tried out; many of these have succeeded to a degree almost beyond expectation. On the other hand, it has been found necessary to abandon some of the enterprises that were

undertaken. The growth of the *Instituto* has been phenomenal and its opportunities have increased to such an extent as to prove beyond a doubt the need of such an organization, but up to the present the *Instituto* has functioned entirely without endowment or aid of any kind other than the support received from the membership fees and the aid offered by the Institute of International Education. At present the Council realizes that it is impossible to continue in this manner. The *Instituto* is faced with the necessity of either abandoning much of the work that has been undertaken, or of securing monetary support from some source. Realizing the situation, the Council elected Professor Frank Callcott Vice President, and authorized him to proceed with plans for a campaign to be launched in the fall of this year for the purpose of securing the necessary endowment and funds for the establishment of a suitable house in New York City and near Columbia University which will serve as the center of Spanish, Spanish-American, Portuguese, and Portuguese-American culture in the United States.

A brief review of the *Instituto's* activities since its organization in October, 1920, reveals the following:

Publications. A plan, mutually beneficial to the author and to the *Instituto*, was early devised whereby many valuable contributions to the field of Hispanic culture might be published. Many of these works are of such a nature as not to appeal to the average commercial publishing house, but are of great value to persons interested in Spanish and Portuguese. The plan of publication provides for the free distribution of the publications each year among the members of the *Instituto*. In this way its members are afforded information that would otherwise probably be inaccessible while, at the same time, the author is assured immediate circulation of his work among a considerable group of interested readers, as well as its general distribution by authorized distributing agents. To date the series contains the following titles:

Textbooks.

La Enseñanza de Lenguas Modernas en los Estados Unidos. By Lawrence A. Wilkins, 160 pages, New York-Valencia, 1922.

Cervantes. Cartilla Escolar. A Biography and Selections by M. Romera-Navarro. Vocabulary by J. Mercado, 16 pages, New York, 1922.

Nuestro Futuro Diputado. A Play. By Samuel A. Wofsy, 64 pages, New York, 1923.

Studies.

The Romantic Dramas of García Gutiérrez. By N. B. Adams, Ph.D., 149 pages, New York, 1922.

Martín Fierro. An Epic of the Argentine. By Henry A. Holmes, Ph.D., 192 pages, New York, 1923.

The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature. By Frank Callcott, Ph.D., 160 pages, New York, 1923.

Jacinto Benavente. By Federico de Onís, 80 pages, New York, 1923.

Fray Luís de León. By Abate A. Lugan, 158 pages, Barcelona-New York, 1924.

¿Hay una filosofía en el Quijote? By David Rubio, 168 pages, New York, 1924.

Filosofía del derecho (Vol. 1). By Mariano Aramburo, 552 pages, New York, 1924.

El castigo del discreto. A Study of Conjugal Honor in the Theater of Lope de Vega. By William L. Fichter, Ph.D., 290 pages, New York, 1925.

Amado Nervo. By Concha Meléndez. (In press.)

Concepción Arenal. By R. E. G. Vaillant, Ph.D. (In press.),

Literature

Desolación. Poesías. By Gabriela Mistral, 248 pages, New York, 1922.

Del Camino. Poesías. By Julio Mercado, 120 pages, New York, 1923.

Lectures.

Lo que se puede aprender en España. By Joaquín Ortega, 8 pages, New York, 1922.

Other publications.

Memoria of the Year 1920-1921, Madrid-New York, 1921. (In Spanish and English.)

Suggestions for Spanish Clubs, 12 pages, New York, 1923.

Games For Spanish Clubs. By Colley F. Sparkman, Ph.D. (In press.)

Lectures. Each year the *Instituto* has been fortunate in having Hispanists of recognized importance to represent the organization as its official lecturers. An extended tour has been arranged each year for these speakers, so as to include schools, colleges, clubs, etc., in the various places covered by the itinerary. Some of these representatives have extended their tours into Canada, while others have included the Pacific coast. These representatives have been Dr. Victor A. Belaunde, 1921-22; Professor A. G. Solalinde, 1922-23; Professor Américo Castro, 1923-24; Señora Isabel de Palencia, 1924-25; and Sr. Hector Roca, 1925-26.

Tours. It was soon realized that one of the best ways to further international good will and true understanding of what the principles are which the Spanish race represents, was to afford means whereby North Americans might have an opportunity to visit countries of Spanish speech under the intelligent guidance of those who are thoroughly acquainted with the country concerned and its people. It seemed most logical at the time that the first efforts of this kind should be turned toward the mother country, Spain; so in the summer of 1921 the "First Trip to Spain" consisting of thirty members, representing eleven states of the Union, sailed on June 25th. Landing at Havre, they stopped a day or so in Paris on their way to Madrid to attend the Summer Session for Foreigners at the Residencia de Estudiantes, after which most of the party spent two weeks in a tour through the southern and eastern sections of the peninsula.

The success of the first trip was such as to insure this becoming one of the permanent features of the *Instituto's* work, and each summer has seen an increasingly enthusiastic and usually a larger party sail in the latter part of June for the Summer Session at Madrid and a tour of the country. The first four of these tours were under the direction of Mr. Joaquín Ortega of the University of Wisconsin. Upon his resignation in the fall of 1924, Mr. Wm. Barlow, of the Curtiss High School, Staten Island, and former President of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, was appointed his successor.

The account of "The Fifth Trip to Spain" given on page 95 of the January-March number, 1926, of the *ROMANIC REVIEW* gives a fair idea of the privileges enjoyed by the members of these tours. In short, they have furnished an opportunity to get first-hand information and to actually learn something of Spanish life and customs. The *Instituto* hopes to establish similar tours to various countries of Central and South America as soon as facilities can be obtained to handle the inevitable increase in the mass of details involved.

Clubs. A field of activity which early presented itself was the organization and affiliation of Spanish clubs in the schools and colleges throughout the country. In

many places groups of students were found who were desirous of organizing a club for the promotion of Hispanic interests, but who did not know how to proceed in such a manner as to assure success. This condition is especially true where the department of Spanish is small and is in the hands of a relatively inexperienced teacher. Such clubs applying to the *Instituto* for affiliation are furnished with suggestions for organization, plans for meetings and the necessary material, including an artistic bronze medal for the annual contest for excellency in Spanish. In addition, as long as the affiliation is continued, the club is admitted to all the privileges of the active members so far as the rights to use the general services, library, slides, etc., are concerned. During the first five years 194 clubs have been thus affiliated, representing 28 states of the Union.

Library. Another aim of the *Instituto* is to establish a select circulating library for the use of its members. A nucleus for the collection was provided by the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios of Madrid, which donated copies of its entire list of publications at the time the *Instituto* was founded. This series includes many scientific studies not found in other libraries of America. Through gifts and successive purchases additional works of general interest have been added until the total is now nearly five hundred volumes. Among our books will be found several complete series on Spanish art and architecture; also the excellent set "Biblioteca Internacional de Obras Famosas" comprising twenty-seven large volumes.

It is intended that the library shall steadily increase by the acquisition of recent books as well as the standard classics of Spanish literature. Special attention will be given to contemporary literary productions of Spain and Spanish America. A unique feature of our library will be a parcel post service which, under proper regulations, will make our books available to all our members. In view of the difficulty which individuals experience in securing foreign editions, this service of the *Instituto* should be a valuable asset to those who reside in remote parts of the country.

Slides. In connection with the "parcel post library" it has been a long cherished hope of the *Instituto* to establish a "parcel post slide collection" and some steps have already been taken to this end. To the present some 500 slides on Hispanic subjects have been collected, and unique among these is the set of 50 made from rare illustrations of Don Quijote. Some attempts have already been made to mail these to members requesting them, but the practice has proved so expensive because of carriage charges, the replacing of broken slides, and the purchase of suitable shipping containers that it has been found necessary to discontinue it for the present. This is only one of the real needs that the *Instituto* has been unable to help in filling because of the lack of necessary funds and facilities.

General Information Bureau. Ever since its organization the *Instituto* has acted as a general clearing house for miscellaneous information concerning Hispanic topics. While this service is one of the least ostentatious of all the functions of the *Instituto*, it is without doubt one of the most important. To the General Secretary come appeals of every nature: casual inquiries for addresses of business houses, schools, etc.; students inquiring for names and addresses of Spanish-speaking students with whom they may correspond; young persons of English or of Spanish speech seeking opportunities for study in Spain, Portugal, South or Central America or in the United States respectively; requests for individual reading lists; and requests for lecturers, etc., etc. Almost each week brings some new and often almost undreamed of request.

The *Instituto* is extremely fortunate in being situated in New York City within easy reach of such centers of Hispanic information as Columbia University, the

Hispanic Society of America, New York University, the Institute of International Education, the New York Public Library, etc., all of which have been most helpful in their coöperation.

Our Future. The above sketch has outlined very briefly the most important of the *Instituto's* activities up to the present. All this has been accomplished without endowment or other financial aid, and because all those connected with the organization have given their services absolutely free of charge. The Institute of International Education has, ever since the organization of the *Instituto*, aided us generously. They have afforded us office space and have assisted with some of the clerical work. Now, however, the work has increased to such an extent that it is impossible to continue as we have up to the present. Greater opportunities than ever before are presenting themselves to us, but we have reached the limit of our service until a permanent fund is established to provide for suitable quarters conveniently located.

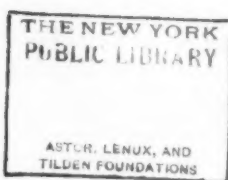
FRANK CALLCOTT,

Vice President and General Editor.

VARIA

RENÉ BOYLESVE of the French Academy died after a short illness on January 14, at the age of 58.—SEQUANA selected the following books from October to January: Weyer, *La Bourrasque*; Escholier, *Quand on conspire*; Mistler, *Châteaux en Bavière*; Maclair, *Le Génie d'Edgar Poe*; Bordeaux, *Barbey d'Aureville*; Genève, *Rabiot*; Piéchaud, *Vallée heureuse*; Lecache, *Jacob*; Benjamin, *La prodigieuse vie d'Honoré de Balzac*; Béraud, *Ce que j'ai vu à Moscou*; Gilbert, *Le Joug*; Jouve, *Paulina, 1880*; Barreyre, *Le Navire aveugle*; Rivière, *A la Trace de Dieu*; Strowski, *La Sagesse française*; Giraudoux, *Bella*; Jolinon, *Le Meunier contre la ville*; Donnay, *La Vie de A. de Musset*; Pourtalès, *La Vie de Franz Liszt*.—F. STROWSKI, who was visiting professor at Columbia University in 1923-24, is now a member of the *Institut de France*.

As we are going to press, word has arrived from France of the death of Albert A. Méras, associate professor of French in Teachers College, who passed away on March 1; and of that of Anatole Le Braz, the Breton scholar and poet, on March 20. Professor Le Braz had lectured on numerous occasions in the United States, and was visiting professor of French civilization and literature at Columbia University in 1919-20. The loss of these two highly esteemed scholars will be keenly felt in America.





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